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*Pre-Election Analysis*

# Candidates Plan for Congress

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*The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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# Congressional Quiz

The election is Nov. 6. Here is a quiz on past results and upcoming events. Try for 5 out of 8.

1. Q--Can you match four important upcoming events with the dates on which they will take place? The events: (a) inauguration of the President-elect; (b) convening of the 85th Congress; (c) voting by members of the electoral college; (d) counting of the electoral votes. The dates: (a) Dec. 17, 1956; (b) Jan. 3, 1957; (c) Jan. 7, 1957; (d) Jan. 20, 1957. (four points)



- A--(a) - (d); (b) - (b); (c) - (a); (d) - (c).
2. Q--Can you recall the final tally in the electoral vote of the 1952 Presidential election? (one point)
- A--President Eisenhower won by a 442-89 vote.
3. Q True or false: Dwight D. Eisenhower received in 1952 a greater popular plurality over his Democratic opponent than any of the three preced-

ing successful Republican Presidential candidates -- Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. (one point)

A--False. Coolidge and Harding both received greater pluralities than President Eisenhower.

4. Q--What provision does the Constitution make in case of an inconclusive electoral vote, i.e., if no candidate receives a majority? (one point)

A--The Constitution instructs the House of Representatives to make the choice from the three candidates with the most votes, allowing one vote for each state represented. (Twelfth Amendment)

5. Q--True or false: No Presidential election ever has been decided by the House of Representatives. (one point)

A--False. In 1800, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received an equal number of electoral votes. The House elected Jefferson. In 1824, the electoral vote was divided among four candidates, with none winning a majority. The House elected John Quincy Adams, although Andrew Jackson had received more electoral and popular votes than Adams.

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## SPECIAL SESSION

The possibility of a special session of Congress to deal with the Middle Eastern situation (see next column) was decreased Oct. 31 by President Eisenhower. In a nationwide radio and television speech, Mr. Eisenhower said he had no plan to call Congress, although he would "continue to keep in contact with Congressional leaders of both parties."

Two days earlier, the White House said a decision on calling a special session would be made "in the light of the unfolding situation." At the same time, Chairman Walter F. George of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said, following a State Department conference, that the situation might "necessitate an immediate special session."

The President also said Oct. 31 that "there will be no United States involvement in these present (Middle East) hostilities." Previously, on April 9, the President had said the U.S. would "support and assist" any victim of aggression in the Middle East "within constitutional means." But he added, he never would send U.S. forces into any action that could be interpreted as war without the prior approval of Congress.

Since the 84th Congress July 27 adjourned "sine die," it cannot reconvene on its own initiative. Should Mr. Eisenhower summon Congress back under his powers to do so "on extraordinary occasions," it will be the first time a President has done so since President Roosevelt in 1939 called a special session to repeal the arms embargo. It would be only the 27th special session of Congress since 1789. In 1948, when President Harry S. Truman dramatically told the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia that he would call Congress back, it was not technically a special session; Congress was in recess.

During World War II Congress remained in almost continuous session, taking extended recesses as an alternative to final adjournment during the crucial post-war years of 1947-50. However, other courses are open to the President. One was taken by Truman on June 27, 1950, two days after the Korean war broke out, when he sent air and naval forces into Korea. Truman did not ask for Congressional approval, even though Congress was in session at the time. Nearly a month later Truman successfully asked Congress for a \$10 billion arms program to back up his Korean stand. But the Eisenhower Administration Oct. 30 alerted Senate and House leaders for possible emergency conferences on the Middle East. This could mean the President will want their views on whether a special session is necessary, or Mr. Eisenhower may plan to follow a precedent set by President Hoover.

In 1931, Hoover proposed an international debt moratorium, but Congress was adjourned, and he felt he could not act without its support. Hoover solved the problem by consulting with Congressional leaders and telegraphing other Members of Congress for their stands. Should the President call a special session after the Nov. 6 election, the session will be attended by "lame duck" Congressmen, those who, either by defeat or retirement, will not be 85th Congress Members. Newly elected Members cannot take their seats until Jan. 3.

## MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

President Eisenhower Oct. 31 said the United States would not become involved in current Middle East hostilities. In a radio and television address, Mr. Eisenhower said the U.S. believed the armed action of Great Britain, France and Israel "to have been taken in error," but he asserted, this opinion "in no way minimizes our friendship with these nations nor our determination to retain and strengthen the bonds among us."

The President said he hoped the problem could be brought before the United Nations General Assembly where, "with no veto operating, the opinion of the world can be brought to bear in our quest for a just end to this tormenting problem." The UN Security Council Oct. 31 called an emergency session of the General Assembly for Nov. 1 to make recommendations on the "actions undertaken against Egypt."

These were the major events leading up to the President's statement:

Oct. 28 -- The Israeli government ordered total mobilization.

Oct. 29 -- Israeli armed forces invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.

Oct. 30 -- Britain and France delivered an ultimatum to Israel and Egypt warning them that unless fighting ceased within 12 hours in a 10-mile zone along the Canal, Britain and France would send forces to occupy key positions in the Suez area -- even if the ultimatum were obeyed -- to "separate the belligerents and guarantee the freedom of passage" through the Canal. Mr. Eisenhower appealed to the two nations to call off their plans. The U.S. called upon the UN Security Council, meeting in emergency session, to order Israeli forces out of Egypt immediately. The U.S. also asked all UN members to keep their own troops away from the danger zone and to boycott Israel unless she obeyed the Council. France and Britain vetoed the U.S. proposal. A similar proposal by Russia also was vetoed.

Oct. 31 -- British and French planes began raids against military targets in Egypt. The Security Council voted, 7-2 with Britain and France opposing, to call a special session of the General Assembly.

## PRESIDENT'S CHECKUP

President Eisenhower underwent a "complete physical examination with appropriate and thorough laboratory tests" at Walter Reed Army Hospital over the Oct. 27 weekend. Eight examining doctors concurred in reporting that the President "gives every appearance of being in excellent health." (For text of report, p. 1300)

The medical report said the President had made "an excellent recovery" from his June 9 operation for ileitis. (Weekly Report, p. 711) The report also said President Eisenhower's heart was "not enlarged either on physical examination or by X-ray studies." The President suffered a heart attack Sept. 24, 1955. (Weekly Report, p. 192)

The President underwent the checkup in line with a promise he made at an Aug. 8 news conference, when he said he would have a complete physical examination before the election. (Weekly Report, p. 993)

## TEXT OF DOCTORS' REPORT ON PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

Following is the complete text of the Oct. 28 White House statement on President Eisenhower's health:

The President underwent a complete physical examination with appropriate and thorough laboratory tests at Walter Reed Army Hospital on 27-28 October, 1956. He gives every appearance of being in excellent health. His height is 71 inches, and his weight is 172 pounds. Special examinations reveal the following:

**Eyes:** The irritation of the left eye from the foreign substance which engendered redness while on a recent campaign trip did not produce an iritis or any intra-color complications. This eye is now normal.

The President has excellent visual acuity with his glasses. The lids and adnexa are normal. The conjunctivae have normal color. The corneae appear normal under the slit lamp, as well as under gross inspection. The anterior chambers have normal depth. There are no cells or flare seen. The intra-color tension is normal; 17.5 OU. The ophthalmoscopic examination shows minimal changes in the arterioles, which is in keeping with this period of life.

### EARS, NOSE, THROAT

**Ears:** Normal color of the tympanic membranes. External canals healthy. Hearing normal; AD-15/15; AS-15/15 to spoken and whispered voice.

**Nose:** Paranasal sinuses are clear. Mucous membranes have normal color.

**Throat:** The tonsils have been removed. The larynx and vocal cords are entirely normal.

**Dental:** The teeth and gums are in excellent condition.

**Neck:** The neck is normal. The thyroid is not palpable. The trachea is in the midline.

**Lungs:** Physical examination of the lungs reveals no abnormal findings. X-rays of the lungs confirm the physical findings; comparison of numerous X-ray films of the chest dating back to 1946 shows no change.

**Abdomen:** The abdominal wall moves normally with breathing. There is no distention. There are two well-healed scars: one in the lower right abdominal wall from an appendectomy in 1923; the second, a right rectus scar, the result of the operation for acute intestinal obstruction in June, 1956. The peristalsis is normal. The abdominal wall is firm and sound, with good muscle tone throughout. There are no masses palpable in the abdomen. There is no abdominal tenderness.

X-ray examination reveals no evidence of organic disease in the esophagus, stomach or duodenum. The barium passed readily through the small intestine and in 2 hours and 45 minutes had reached the anastomosis between the ileum and the transverse colon. The small bowel mucosal pattern is normal and there is no evidence of extension of old disease process.

**Conclusion:** Well-functioning ileocolostomy following operation for the relief of obstruction due to ileitis. The President has made an excellent recovery from the operation for acute intestinal obstruction due to an old "burnt out" ileitis. His bowel function is now perfectly normal.

### NERVES, MUSCLES, BONES AND JOINTS

The examination at this time reveals no limitation of motion in any joints. The muscle tone is good. The neurological examination is normal.

### GENITO-URINARY SYSTEM

There is no evidence of disease of the urinary tract. The prostate shows minimal benign enlargement -- normal for his age.

### CARDIOVASCULAR SYSTEM

There have been no symptoms whatsoever of coronary insufficiency (angina pectoris) or of myocardial insufficiency (heart muscle weakness) since an early period following the heart attack of Sept. 24, 1955. The President remains on a well-controlled anticoagulant program.

Examination on this date shows the President to be looking well. The blood pressure is 130/75. The pulse rate is 75 per minute. The heart is not enlarged either on physical examination or by X-ray studies (fluoroscopy and X-ray film); the latter shows the size of the heart shadow to be unchanged in comparison with the films made during the past 10 years.

The heart sounds are normal and there are no murmurs. The neck pulse is normal. The lungs are clear. There is no edema of the dependent parts. The arteries of the extremities show no sclerosis and there is a good pulse in each foot.

The electrocardiogram shows the same residual changes of a well-healed heart muscle scar which have been present since recovery from the attack last year. The rhythm is normal at a rate of 75.

The X-ray of the chest, when compared with numerous previous films of the heart and lungs dating from 1946, shows no change in the general configuration or size of the heart. On fluoroscopic examination, normal rate and rhythm of the heart are noted. The healed infarction (scar) on the anterolateral wall of the left ventricle is again noted and appears as a small area in which the amplitude of the pulsation is slightly diminished. There is no evidence of aneurysm (bulging of the scar). The aortic pulsations are normal and there is normal excursion of the diaphragm on both sides.

### LABORATORY FINDINGS

Urinalysis: Normal.

Blood Count: 4,850,000 red blood cells; 14.5 grams hemoglobin; 10,000 white blood cells, with normal differential count.

Sedimentation Rate: 16 mm. per hour.

Hematocrit: 45 volume percent.

### BLOOD CHEMISTRY TESTS

Urea nitrogen, 13 mg. percent.

Fasting blood sugar, 93 mg. percent.

Total cholesterol, 190 mg. percent.

Alkaline phosphatase, 5.5 mg. percent.

Serum calcium, 4.8 meq/liter.

All of these laboratory findings were considered within normal limits.

Howard McC. Snyder, Major General, USA (MC), personal physician to the President;

Leonard D. Heaton, Major General, USA (MC), commanding general, Walter Reed Army Medical Center.



# Pressures On Congress

## TRAINMEN SPLIT ENDORSEMENTS

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (Ind.) Oct. 29 released a list endorsing 307 candidates for the House of Representatives and 31 candidates for the Senate. The Trainmen's endorsement included 287 Democratic candidates and 20 Republican candidates for the House and 29 Democratic and two Republican candidates for the Senate.

The Brotherhood said every trainman "is urged to use his invaluable right to vote on Nov. 6 and support the candidates whose records and performances show a sincere concern with the problems of the people and of labor." The endorsed candidates, the union said, "have been found favorable to the people's interests in their political actions, and well worthy of the support of labor and the public."

No endorsements were given in Mississippi and New Hampshire races. Senatorial candidates in California, New Hampshire, Georgia and Iowa were not endorsed. In the Kentucky Senatorial race the Trainmen endorsed Lawrence W. Wetherby (D) and his opponent John Sherman Cooper (R).

Democratic incumbent Senators endorsed were: Lister Hill (Ala.), Carl Hayden (Ariz.), J. William Fulbright (Ark.), George A. Smathers (Fla.), Earle C. Clements (Ky.), Russell B. Long (La.), Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (Mo.), Alan Bible (Nev.), Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N.C.), A.S. Mike Monroney (Okla.), Wayne Morse (Ore.), Olin D. Johnston (S.C.) and Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.).

Other Democratic Senatorial candidates endorsed: John A. Carroll (Colo.), Thomas J. Dood (Conn.), Frank Church (Idaho), Richard Stengel (Ill.), Claude R. Wickard (Ind.), George Hart (Kan.), George P. Mahoney (Md.), Robert F. Wagner (N.Y.), Quentin Burdick (N.D.), Frank J. Lausche (Ohio), Joseph C. Clark Jr. (Pa.), Kenneth Holum (S.D.), Alonzo F. Hopkin (Utah), William C. Marland (W. Va.) and Henry W. Maier (Wis.).

The other Republican Senatorial candidate endorsed was Sen. George D. Aiken (Vt.).

## POLLS INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, Oct. 25 said a majority of the more than 102,000 voting members of the Federation answered yes to these questions when polled:

- Should Congress exempt from federal excise taxes all items selling for under \$50 and exempt the first \$50 of any item selling for more than \$50?
- Should the government prevent labor unions from promoting nationwide boycotts of merchandise of firms which they are striking?
- Should we have equal pay for equal work regardless of sex?
- Should penalties be enforced against members of the military who buy goods at military outlets and sell them to friends who are not members of the military?
- Should oil companies be forced to lease or sell to independent operators all their company-owned, retail service stations?

Burger said the Federation would press for legislation to "carry out the wishes" of the membership in the 1957 session of Congress.

## Pressure Points

### ASKS CREDIT BRAKE

The American Bankers Assn. Oct. 24 urged continued credit restraint to check inflation in a resolution adopted at the ABA's 82nd annual convention in Los Angeles. Earle Cocke of Atlanta, Ga., was elected ABA president for 1957.

### MORE PUBLIC HOUSING

The National Assn. of Housing and Redevelopment Officials in a resolution adopted Oct. 24 at its 27th annual conference urged a public housing program approximating 10 percent of the annual new housing. This would mean 100,000 to 110,000 public housing units in 1956 compared with the 35,000 units Congress has authorized. Knox Banner, executive director of the Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock, Ark., was elected president for 1957.

### POSTAL PAY RAISE

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks (AFL-CIO) Oct. 29 said a poll among House and Senate candidates showed a high percentage favor increased pay for federal and postal workers and official recognition of their unions. E.C. Hallbeck, the union's legislative director, said more than 50 percent of all candidates answered and signed questionnaires. He said among House candidates 100 percent of the Democrats and 89 percent of the Republicans replying favored a salary boost for federal employees. Among Senate candidates, he said, 81 percent of the Democrats and 100 percent of the Republicans responding favored a pay increase.

### ENDORSES CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

The National Committee for an Effective Congress Nov. 1 announced its endorsement of 13 candidates for election to the Senate and House, seven of them Democrats and six Republicans, as being "eminently qualified" and whose election would be "of significant value to the nation."

The NCEC endorsed the following candidates for the Senate: Frank Church (D Idaho), former Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), R.M. "Spike" Evans (D Iowa), Sen. Wayne L. Morse (D Ore.), Richard Stengel (D Ill.), Claude Wickard (D Ind.), Sen. Alexander Wiley (R Wis.).

The NCEC endorsed the following Congressmen for re-election to the House of Representatives: William H. Ayres (R Ohio), James G. Fulton (R Penn.), John W. Heselton (R Mass.), Eugene McCarthy (D Minn.), Gracie Pfof (D Idaho), Hugh Scott (R Penn.).

## In This Section.....(Oct. 26 - Nov. 1)

- Senators' Counterpart Expenditures Released
- Revision of Federal Information Practices Asked
- House Subcommittee Charges Polio Vaccine Price Fixing

## JUNKETS

## COMMITTEE -- Senate Appropriations.

ACTION -- Oct. 27 released figures showing Senators spent \$168,488 in foreign counterpart funds in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956. (Counterpart funds is money on deposit in foreign countries to repay the U.S. for economic aid. The money is in the currency of the owing foreign country.) (For spending by Representatives and Joint Committees, see Weekly Report, p. 1163, 1194)

The report did not list the names of the Senators who drew the funds for "transportation and incidental travel expenses" but broke down the spending by Senate committees: Appropriations, \$94,016.74; Foreign Relations, \$24,776.58; Banking and Currency, \$18,068.06; Judiciary, \$13,181.14; Interstate and Foreign Commerce \$11,654.11; Government Operations, \$2,033.22; Post Office and Civil Service, \$1,910.00; and Interior and Insular Affairs, \$207.40. An additional \$2,641.45 was drawn in connection with Senators' trips to attend meetings of the Interparliamentary Union, the report said.

The report did not include whatever sums were drawn in this country for the trips or an estimate of the cost of transporting the Senators in government aircraft.

## GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

## COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations, Special Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Oct. 27 issued staff proposals to clarify laws regulating government information practices. The changes would create a "public right" to information that would be subject to judicial review, the report said.

The staff report proposed two legal provisions: (1) That nothing in the agencies' rule-making authority "authorizes a regulation for the withholding of information or limiting the availability of records to the public." (2) That all public records be made available to the public unless specific authority is granted by Congress to withhold them. The report said different interpretations by government departments and the courts of a statute "to prevent the disclosure of information and to limit the availability of records," prompted the recommendations.

The Subcommittee, headed by John D. Moss (D Calif.) July 27 filed its 25th interim report (H Rept 2947) on "Availability of Information from Federal Departments and Agencies." That report said it "is incumbent upon Congress to bring order out of chaos. Congress should establish rules on information practices. These rules should require full disclosure of information except for specific exceptions defined by statute." (Weekly Report, p. 951)

The latest staff report, submitted for comment to about 100 newsmen, lawyers and scientists who testified

before the Subcommittee was scheduled for Subcommittee action Nov. 12.

## POLIO VACCINE

## COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations, Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Oct. 30 released a memorandum to state attorneys general on its investigation of the sale of polio vaccine to the federal government. (Weekly Report, p. 1254)

The memorandum said the investigation "raised a serious question as to whether state and federal governments are being charged excessive prices for polio vaccine because of the possible existence of a price fixing conspiracy in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act." Chairman L.H. Fountain (D N.C.) told the attorneys general that he was alerting them "so that you may be in a position to take such action as you deem warranted under the circumstances." Under federal law, a state which has been injured by reason of anything forbidden in the antitrust laws may sue for treble damages, the memorandum said.

The memorandum said the following companies, the only ones licensed to produce Salk polio vaccine, submitted "substantially identical" bids to the federal government for 9 cubic centimeters of vaccine on three different occasions (Oct. 7, 1955; Feb. 13, 1956; June 25, 1956): Cutter Laboratories, Eli Lilly, Parke-Davis, Pittman Moore, Sharp & Doehme, Wyeth Laboratories. "In May, 1956," the memorandum said, "A voluntary reduction in price by one company from \$6.33 to \$5.70 (for a 9 cc. vial) was almost immediately followed by a reduction to the same price by each other company."

"Eli Lilly & Co. of Indianapolis has been the major producer of Salk vaccine," the memorandum said, "supplying more than two-thirds of the cumulative total of about 100 million cc's produced by all companies through August, 1956. According to published figures, the Lilly Company made a net profit of \$13.6 million on sales of \$62.3 million during the first six months of 1955. During the first six months of 1956, Lilly reported a net profit of \$33.8 million on sales of \$90 million. Thus while sales increased \$27.7 million, profits increased \$20.2 million. While it has not yet been ascertained exactly how much of Lilly's increased profits came from polio vaccine, it appears that the major portion of the increased sales were due to the vaccine."

"The Department of Justice conducted an investigation of an alleged price fixing conspiracy among the six manufacturers of Salk vaccine in April and May, 1955, prior to most of the events concerned in the Subcommittee's investigation, but concluded at that time that the evidence in their possession was not sufficient to bring court action. Officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare testified that they were not aware that Justice was investigating the alleged price fixing. A federal statute calls for each agency head to report to the Justice Department bids which evidence any violation of the antitrust laws. However, identical bids received on polio vaccine were never reported to Justice."

## WHO WILL HEAD COMMITTEES IN NEW CONGRESS?

Would Republican committee chairmen in Congress help President Eisenhower's program more than Democrats?

The question has been debated in the current Presidential campaign and has evoked comment from both President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic Presidential candidate. It is a crucial consideration since committee chairmen can be to a President what downfield blockers are to a halfback.

Both Presidential candidates have called for the election of a Congress of their own party. President Eisenhower says the Democratic majority in the 84th Congress -- 1955 and 1956 -- and its Democratic-controlled committees blocked much of his program. He has said he needs a Republican Congress in 1957.

Yet most political analysts agree that the Democrats stand a better chance of continuing in control of Congress and its committees than the Republicans have of gaining control, even should the President win re-election.

- What are the powers of committee chairmen?
- Who are the current chairmen; who would be the chairmen in 1957 under a Republican Congress, or another Democratic Congress?
- How often have the current and potential committee chairmen agreed with and opposed President Eisenhower's program?

### Chairmen's Power

A committee chairman is the middleman between a bill and the floor of Congress. The bill must be cleared in committee before it is sent to the floor for a vote, except under unusual circumstances. The power of committee clearance is therefore a potent one. As presiding officer, a committee chairman has much to say about whether a bill is ready to go to the floor.

If the chairman opposes a bill, he can distort it by pushing through amendments; or he can delay it to death by extensive hearings or refusing to call any at all. Conversely, he can push it through the committee hurriedly and fight off crippling amendments.

Since a committee chairman almost always has one more vote on his side than the minority party, it takes a party split to oppose his will. Even with a majority of committee members ganged up against him, the chairman can frustrate their efforts through a multitude of delaying tactics.

President Eisenhower Aug. 22 told a San Francisco news conference: "I believe that as a normal thing our country is best served when the White House and the Congress are both run by the same political party for the simple reason that you can then fix responsibility."

Stevenson Sept. 17 said: "I am sure it is even more important for me to have a Democratic-controlled Congress than it is for Mr. Eisenhower to have a Republican-controlled Congress because a large portion of the achievements of the Eisenhower Administration have been accomplished only through the help of a Democratic Congress." In 1954 Stevenson devoted an entire speech to the importance of a unified executive-legislative front.

### Committee Chairmen Support of President

COLUMN 1 -- Percentage of roll calls on which Member supported President Eisenhower's position in 84th Congress.

COLUMN 2 -- Percentage of time a Member opposed President's position. (Incumbent Democratic committee chairmen appear on left. Republicans who would become chairmen if their party won majority in Congress are on right).

SENATE				
	1	2	1	2
<b>Agriculture and Forestry</b>				
Ellender	48%	48%	Alken	85%
<b>Appropriations</b>				
Hayden	62	35	Bridges	63
<b>Armed Services</b>				
Russell	38	47	Saltonstall	90
<b>Banking and Currency</b>				
Fulbright	44	38	Capelhart	56
<b>Finance</b>				
Byrd	50	31	Martin	92
<b>Foreign Relations</b>				
Green	47	31	Wiley	56
<b>Government Operations</b>				
McClellan	38	50	McCarthy	44
<b>Interior and Insular Affairs</b>				
Murray	36	31	Malone	51
<b>Interstate and Foreign Commerce</b>				
Magnuson	40	46	Bricker	67
<b>Judiciary</b>				
Eastland	43	43	Langer	27
<b>Labor and Public Welfare</b>				
Hill	48	49	Smith	88
<b>Post Office and Civil Service</b>				
Johnston	33	65	Carlson	77
<b>Public Works</b>				
Chavez	26	41	Case (S.D.)	54
<b>Select Small Business</b>				
Sparkman	53	40	Thye	82
<b>HOUSE</b>				
<b>Agriculture</b>				
Cooley	45	33	Andresen	61
<b>Appropriations</b>				
Cannon	57	33	Taber	59
<b>Armed Services</b>				
Vinson	61	33	Short	53
<b>Banking and Currency</b>				
Spence	53	36	Talle	61
<b>Education and Labor</b>				
Barden	29	45	McConnell	61
<b>Foreign Affairs</b>				
Gordon	57	28	Chapinfield	57
<b>Government Operations</b>				
Dawson	43	28	Hoffman	43
<b>Interior and Insular Affairs</b>				
Eagle	65	31	Miller	73
<b>Interstate and Foreign Commerce</b>				
Harris	60	35	Wolverton	63
<b>Judiciary</b>				
Celler	52	32	Keating	71
<b>Merchant Marine and Fisheries</b>				
Bonner	55	41	Tollefson	63
<b>Post Office and Civil Service</b>				
Murray	61	33	Rees	67
<b>Public Works</b>				
Buckley	35	25	McGregor	57
<b>Rules</b>				
Smith	56	40	Allen	77
<b>Un-American Activities</b>				
Walter	51	21	Kearney	45
<b>Veterans' Affairs</b>				
Teague	51	32	Rogers	65
<b>Ways and Means</b>				
Cooper	65	35	Reed	48
<b>Select Small Business</b>				
Patman	53	28	Hill	71

## Committee Assignments

Congressmen wait in line to become chairmen of committees. The party with the most Members in the Senate wins the chairmanships. Each chairmanship goes to the Member of Congress of that party who has served longest on the committee through a nominal election by committee members. In cases where a Member is in line for more than one chairmanship, he takes his choice. Should two Members have served on the same committee the same length of time and both be eligible for the chairmanship, the Member with the most seniority in his chamber of Congress would become the committee chairman.

In 1957, for instance, Sen. Alexander Wiley (R Wis.) would be in line for the Chairmanship of the Foreign Relations and Judiciary Committees if the Republicans win a majority of seats in the Senate. In 1953 and 1954, Wiley chose Foreign Relations which moved Sen. William Langer (R N.D.) up to the Chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee. Sen. Edward Martin (R Pa.) would be in line for the Chairmanship of the Finance and Public Works Committee if the Republicans won a majority. He is expected to choose the Finance Committee, considered to be the more weighty of the two.

The same procedure for naming chairmen is followed in both chambers. Infrequently, a Senator or Representative is chairman of more than one committee.

The major standing committees in the Senate and House, their functions and chairmen are listed below. The current chairmen are in capital letters and the Republicans who most likely would become chairmen if their party wins a majority are listed next. Since several Members are up for election, the chairmanships cannot be fully decided until after Nov. 6. An asterisk denotes members up for election. A double asterisk denotes a candidate who is unopposed for election.

### Senate Committees

**AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY** (Agriculture in general, including farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification; forestry in general) -- ALLEN J. ELLENDER SR. (D LA.), George D. Aiken (R Vt.).\*

**APPROPRIATIONS** (Appropriations of government revenues) -- CARL HAYDEN (D ARIZ.),\* Styles Bridges (R N.H.)

**ARMED SERVICES** (Military affairs, Panama Canal and Canal Zone, conservation of petroleum resources, strategic and critical materials) -- RICHARD B. RUSSELL (D GA.), Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.).

**BANKING AND CURRENCY** (Banking and currency generally, financial matters other than taxes and appropriations, public and private housing, economic controls) -- J.W. FULBRIGHT (D ARK.),\* Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.).\*

**FINANCE** (Taxes, tariffs, import quotas, social security, veterans' compensation, pensions and armed forces' life insurance) -- HARRY FLOOD BYRD (D VA.), Edward Martin (R Pa.).

**FOREIGN RELATIONS** (Relations of U.S. with other nations and international organizations, treaties) -- THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN (D R.I.), Alexander Wiley (R Wis.).\*

**GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS** (Budget and accounting measures, reorganization of the Executive Branch, general government administrative problems, government investigations) -- JOHN L. MCCLELLAN (D ARK.), Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.).

**INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS** (Public lands, natural resources, territorial possessions of the U.S., Indian affairs) -- JAMES E. MURRAY (D MONT.), George W. Malone (R Nev.).

**INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE** (Regulation of interstate transportation, communications, inland waterways, Coast Guard, Merchant Marine, civil aeronautics, Weather Bureau, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Standards) -- WARREN G. MAGNUSON (D WASH.),\* John W. Bricker (R Ohio).

**JUDICIARY** (Federal courts and judges, civil liberties, constitutional amendments, interstate compacts, immigration and naturalization, apportionment of Representatives, meetings of

Congress and attendance of Members, claims against the U.S., antitrust, internal security, refugees and escapees, trading with the enemy, juvenile delinquency) -- JAMES O. EASTLAND (D MISS.), William Langer (R N.D.).

**LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE** (Education, labor, welfare, veterans' affairs, medical care) -- LISTER HILL (D ALA.),\*\* H. Alexander Smith (R N.J.).

**POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE** (Postal and federal civil services, census, national archives) -- OLIN D. JOHNSTON (D S.C.),\*\* Frank Carlson (R Kan.).\*

**PUBLIC WORKS** (Public buildings, roads, flood control, rivers and harbors, stream pollution, water power) -- DENNIS CHAVEZ (D N.M.), Francis Case (R S.D.).

**SELECT SMALL BUSINESS** (Studies and investigates problems of small business and reports findings and makes recommendations to the Senate, but cannot report legislation) -- JOHN J. SPARKMAN (D ALA.), Edward J. Thye (R Minn.).

### House Committees

The functions of the House committees are the same as their Senate counterparts unless otherwise stated. All House Members face election in 1956. Double asterisks denote those unopposed for re-election.

**AGRICULTURE** -- HAROLD D. COOLEY (D N.C.),\*\* August H. Andresen (R Minn.).

**APPROPRIATIONS** -- CLARENCE CANNON (D MO.),\*\* John Taber (R N.Y.).

**ARMED SERVICES** -- CARL VINSON (D GA.),\*\* Dewey Short (R Mo.).

**BANKING AND CURRENCY** -- BRENT SPENCE (D KY.), Henry O. Talle (R Iowa).

**EDUCATION AND LABOR** (Education, labor and welfare matters) -- GRAHAM A. BARDEN (D N.C.), Samuel K. McConnell Jr. (R Pa.).

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS** -- THOMAS S. GORDON (D ILL.), Robert B. Chiperfield (R Ill.).

**GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS** -- WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D ILL.), Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.).

**INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS** -- CLAIR ENGLE (D CALIF.),\*\* A.L. Miller (R Neb.).

**INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE** -- OREN HARRIS (D ARK.),\*\* Charles A. Wolverton (R N.J.).

**JUDICIARY** -- EMANUEL CELLER (D N.Y.), Kenneth B. Keating (R N.Y.).

**MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Merchant Marine generally, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, maintenance and operation of Panama Canal, and administration of the Canal Zone, fisheries and wildlife) -- HERBERT C. BONNER (D N.C.), Thor C. Tollefson (R Wash.).

**POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE** -- TOM MURRAY (D TENN.),\*\* Edward H. Rees (R Kan.).

**PUBLIC WORKS** -- CHARLES A. BUCKLEY (D N.Y.), J. Harry McGregor (R Ohio).

**RULES** (Vital committee which is gateway to House floor for all major bills unless unusual procedures are followed. The Rules Committee can vote to keep a bill from going to the floor for action) -- HOWARD W. SMITH (D VA.), Leo E. Allen (R Ill.).

**UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES** (Investigates activities to see if they are subversive) -- FRANCIS E. WALTER (D PA.), Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney (R N.Y.).

**VETERANS' AFFAIRS** (Veterans measures generally, pensions, armed forces life insurance, rehabilitation, education, medical care and treatment of veterans, veterans hospitals) -- OLIN E. TEAGUE (D TEXAS),\*\* Edith Nourse Rogers (R Mass.).\*\*

**WAYS AND MEANS** (Revenue measures generally, tariffs, reciprocal trade agreements, social security) -- JERE COOPER (D TENN.),\*\* Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.).

**SELECT SMALL BUSINESS** -- WRIGHT PATMAN (D TEXAS),\*\* William S. Hill (R Colo.).

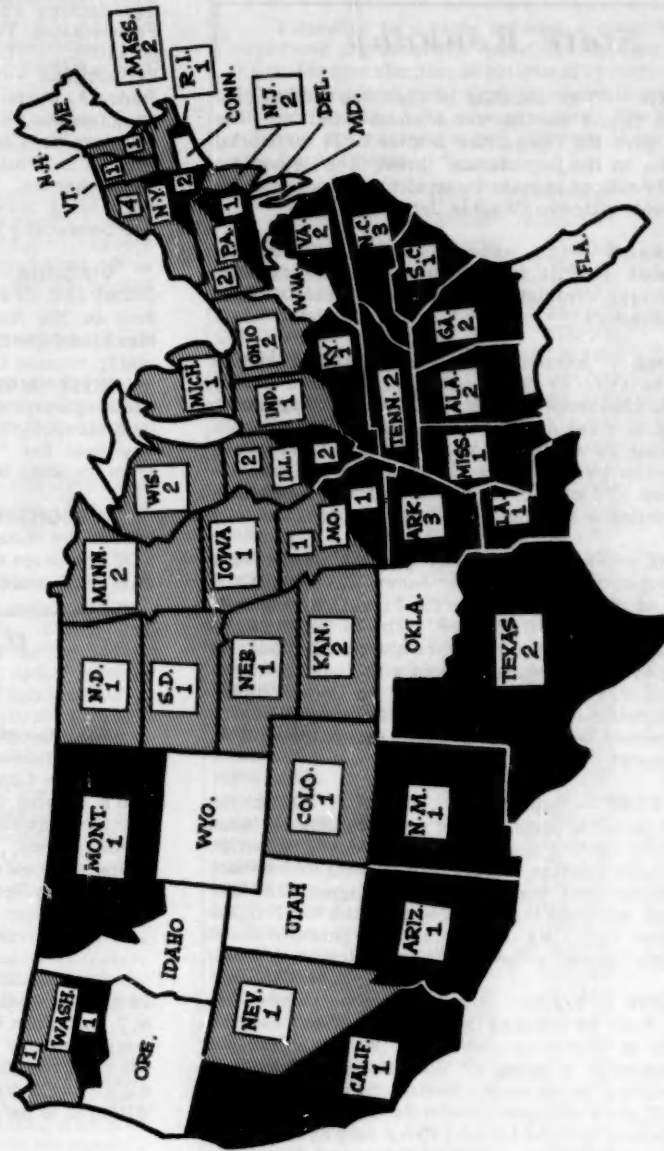


# Home States of 1957 Congressional Committee Chairmen

NUMBERS SHOW TOTAL CHAIRMEN FROM EACH STATE

■ IF DEMOCRATS WIN MAJORITY IN SENATE AND HOUSE

▨ IF REPUBLICANS WIN MAJORITY IN SENATE AND HOUSE



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## State Roundup

**ALASKA** -- The counting of absentee ballots cast in Alaska's Oct. 9 election was completed Oct. 26. The final tally gave the Democrats a total of 21 territorial house seats, to the Republicans' three. The Democrats won 31 of 39 offices at stake in the election, including six territory-wide offices. (Weekly Report, p. 1223)

**COLORADO** -- U.S. Attorney Donald E. Kelley Oct. 31 requested an FBI investigation of unsigned anti-Catholic letters circulated anonymously in the Colorado political campaign.

**INDIANA** -- John H. Vohr of the U.S. Steel Corp.'s Gary works Oct. 25 denied charges by Lake County Democratic Chairman Griffith Rees that the Corporation was trying to raise a \$200,000 "slush fund" for Republicans among its steel mill supervisors in Gary. Rees made the charge in an Oct. 24 telegram to Chairman Albert Gore (D Tenn.) of the Senate Rules and Administration Privileges and Elections Subcommittee.

**MAINE** -- Rep. Robert Hale (R) Oct. 23 emerged with a margin of 122 votes over James C. Oliver (D) in a recount of the ballots cast in the First Congressional District in the Sept. 10 election. The disputed ballots totaled 4,091, of which 3,642 were absentee ballots, the remaining 449 being regular ballots with disputed markings. Gillis W. Long, chief counsel of the House Administration Elections Subcommittee, said he thought when the House convened in January it would decide the winner. (Weekly Report, p. 1107, 1223)

**NEW YORK** -- Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D) Oct. 25 announced he would support State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits (R), running against New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner (D) for election to the Senate. Powell said he was backing Javits over Wagner because Wagner still had "unfinished business" to complete in the civil rights field in New York City, and because Wagner had allied himself with "smear artists." (Weekly Report, p. 1257)

**OREGON** -- Robert Boyer, Oregon Democratic chairman, Oct. 29 accused the Republican State Central Committee of trying to make Sen. Wayne Morse (D) appear unpopular by using a "doctored photograph" of Morse speaking in an empty Senate chamber. Wendell Wyatt, GOP state chairman denied Boyer's charges, said the full picture showed Morse talking only to Knowland. Wyatt said the picture had been borrowed from Life magazine.

**PENNSYLVANIA** -- Two warrants for the arrest of Gov. George M. Leader (D) Oct. 27 were sworn out by Charles W. Stickler Jr., president of the Manu-Mine Research and Development Co. of Reading. Leader was accused of attempting to bias the current Dauphin County special grand jury investigation of Manu-Mine and the

five damage suits brought by the company against the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. (Weekly Report, p. 1109).... The four Democratic Representatives in Philadelphia -- William J. Green Jr., Earl Chudoff, James A. Byrne and William A. Barrett -- Oct. 27 called on President Eisenhower to revoke the plan of U.S. Attorney W. Wilson White to keep a federal grand jury in session in Philadelphia on election day to hear vote fraud charges. The Congressmen said legal processes were being corrupted in an effort to "intimidate an entire community for partisan political purposes."

**VIRGINIA** -- Delegate Frank P. Moncure of Stafford County Oct. 23 endorsed T. Coleman Andrews for President on the States Rights ticket. Moncure supported Mr. Eisenhower in 1952.

**WEST VIRGINIA** -- Rep. Robert H. Mollohan, Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Oct. 29 denied charges by State GOP Chairman John D. Hoblitzell that Mollohan was paid for "influence in obtaining stripping leases from the state board of control."

**WISCONSIN** -- Claude J. Jasper of Madison, treasurer of the state Republican party, Oct. 26 reported state GOP campaign expenditures of \$79,797, and contributions of \$78,425 since Sept. 21.

## Political Briefs

### JAVITS - MCCARTHY

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) Oct. 26 said New York's Republican Senatorial candidate Jacob K. Javits "has more Communist connections than anyone I know who's running for Congress." Javits Oct. 27 said his "active opposition" to Communism was a matter of public record. Javits had previously said if the Republicans won control of the 85th Congress, McCarthy should not head any Senate committee. (Weekly Report, p. 1099)

### BOLTER DISCIPLINE

Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler Oct. 28 said he would "expect" Reps. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D N.Y.) and John Bell Williams (D Miss.) to be deprived of their seniority rank on House committees and any other prerogatives they enjoyed as Democrats. Powell is supporting President Eisenhower for re-election while Williams is backing a States Rights ticket.

### STATES RIGHTS

Rep. John Bell Williams (D Miss.) Oct. 22 announced his endorsement of the States Rights party, because of the Democrats' civil rights stand. The South Carolinians for Independent Electors Oct. 26 endorsed Williams as Vice Presidential candidate. They had announced support of Sen. Harry Flood Byrd for President Oct. 15. (Weekly Report, p. 1257)

## 61.4 MILLION EXPECTED TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

State election officials and other qualified sources estimate 61,417,750 persons will vote on Nov. 6, according to an Oct. 27 report by the Associated Press. This would be 134,168 less than the record vote of 61,551,918 set in the first Eisenhower-Stevenson Presidential contest in 1952. That turnout exceeded the previous high (1940) by more than 11 million.

The same state officials estimated for the Associated Press a national registration or eligible vote of 80,158,364, an increase of 4,578,579 over 1952.

Party headquarters in Washington would not interpret the prediction of a slightly lower turnout of voters despite a greater number of eligibles. If approximately correct the figures would seem to indicate some falling off in voter interest compared with 1952 when the stalemated Korean war was a top issue.

The estimated vote is 76 percent of the estimated eligibles. The official vote in 1952 was 81 percent of the eligible figure. The 1956 indicated vote is 60 percent of the Census Bureau's latest estimate of the Nov. 1 civilian population of voting age -- 102,743,000. Four years ago this vote ratio was 63 percent.

A Presidential year vote usually climbs from one election to the next, but this is not always so. The 1944 turnout in a war year was a drop from 1940. The last decline before that was in 1904.

New York and Illinois, among key states in this year's battle of ballots, were among 10 states showing declines in eligible voters or registrants. Thirty-five states showed registration gains, while three -- Idaho, Indiana and Oregon -- remained about the same. Among the larger gains were California 400,000; Florida 275,000; Michigan 750,000; Missouri 300,000; New Jersey 150,000; North Carolina 300,000; Oklahoma 300,000 and Pennsylvania 90,000.

A higher vote than 1952 was indicated for 27 states, including California, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Vote declines were predicted for 21 states, including Illinois, Missouri, New York, Texas and Virginia.

A record 6,409,687 Californians are registered, including 2,646,245 Republicans and 3,574,829 Democrats. The Democratic margin of 928,584 compares with a Democratic lead in registration of 856,955 in 1952 when President Eisenhower drew 699,762 more California votes than Adlai Stevenson.

With all but three counties complete, the unofficial New York registration stood at 7,700,471, down about 140,000 from 1952. Registration in heavily Democratic New York City was approximately 3,283,000, a drop of 246,000 from the 1952 level. In the rest of the state -- largely Republican except for some city Democratic strongholds -- registration hit a new record of about 4,416,000, a gain of about 104,000.

Nearly complete registration figures for Pennsylvania showed a total of 5,431,259, about 90,000 above the previous record set in 1952. Republican registrants edged the Democrats by 442,014, although their spread was trimmed from about one million four years ago.

### Vote Table

Following is a table showing a compilation of registered and otherwise qualified voters for the Nov. 6 Presidential election, as estimated by state officials and other sources, their forecast of what the total vote will be, and the 1952 vote by states. The first two columns are estimates; the 1952 vote is the official vote for President.

State	1956 Eligibles	Estimated 1956 Vote	1952 Vote
ALABAMA	850,000	450,000	426,120
ARIZONA	330,190	268,000	260,570
ARKANSAS	560,000	410,000	404,800
CALIFORNIA	6,409,687	5,250,000	5,141,849
COLORADO	800,000	675,000	630,103
CONNECTICUT	1,275,000	1,120,000	1,096,911
DELAWARE	200,000	180,000	174,025
FLORIDA	1,600,000	1,000,000	989,337
GEORGIA	1,328,208	575,000	655,785
IDAHO	300,000	275,000	276,254
ILLINOIS	5,217,858	4,400,000	4,481,058
INDIANA	2,600,000	2,000,000	1,955,049
IOWA	1,749,059	1,300,000	1,268,773
KANSAS	1,300,000	900,000	896,166
KENTUCKY	1,550,000	1,000,000	993,148
LOUISIANA	1,075,000	698,750	651,952
MAINE	500,000	335,000	351,786
MARYLAND	1,140,000	850,000	902,074
MASSACHUSETTS	2,700,000	2,500,000	2,383,398
MICHIGAN	3,500,000	3,000,000	2,798,592
MINNESOTA	2,000,000	1,500,000	1,379,483
MISSISSIPPI	500,000	275,000	285,532
MISSOURI	2,800,000	1,500,000	1,892,062
MONTANA	316,444	280,000	265,037
NEBRASKA	860,000	415,000	609,660
NEVADA	115,000	90,000	82,190
NEW HAMPSHIRE	340,000	260,000	272,950
NEW JERSEY	2,900,000	2,650,000	2,419,554
NEW MEXICO	340,000	230,000	238,608
NEW YORK	7,700,471	7,100,000	7,128,239
NORTH CAROLINA	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,210,910
NORTH DAKOTA	350,000	275,000	270,127
OHIO	5,700,000	3,750,000	3,700,758
OKLAHOMA	1,250,000	925,000	948,984
OREGON	850,000	780,000	695,059
PENNSYLVANIA	5,431,259	4,600,000	4,580,969
RHODE ISLAND	450,000	415,000	414,498
SOUTH CAROLINA	725,000	275,000	341,087
SOUTH DAKOTA	334,500	276,000	294,283
TENNESSEE	1,300,000	750,000	892,553
TEXAS	2,410,188	2,000,000	2,075,946
UTAH	355,000	330,000	329,554
VERMONT	195,000	150,000	153,557
VIRGINIA	900,000	575,000	619,689
WASHINGTON	1,450,000	1,160,000	1,102,708
WEST VIRGINIA	1,160,500	850,000	873,548
WISCONSIN	2,250,000	1,700,000	1,607,370
WYOMING	190,000	120,000	129,253
TOTALS	80,158,364	61,417,750	61,551,918

## FINAL ROUNDUP OF SENATE, HOUSE ELECTIONS

In its last detailed pre-election survey, completed in mid-October, Congressional Quarterly concluded the odds favored continued Democratic majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, no matter who won the Presidency. (Weekly Report, p. 1207 for the Senate, p. 1263 for the House)

In the final two weeks of the campaign, four factors have emerged that might change this picture:

1. President Eisenhower's personal campaigning has sparked a general increase in Republican organizational efforts. The President's campaign swings by election day will have taken him into Iowa, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, California and New York, all of which have important Senate contests. Visits to Florida, Virginia, Minnesota and Texas will have aided Republican House candidates there. Polls and private surveys indicate the President's popularity will bolster hard-pressed Republicans in 12 to 15 important states.

Registration figures, which earlier had boosted Democratic hopes in Oregon, California and Pennsylvania now give Republicans cheer in Illinois and New York. Registrations in heavily Democratic New York City dropped 7 percent; in heavily Democratic Chicago they were down 10 percent. In Republican suburbs of both cities, registrations rose.

2. Republicans have opened a major drive to woo Negro voters, but they face strong Democratic organizations in most Negro districts. Vice President Richard M. Nixon has emphasized civil rights in recent speeches and Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D.N.Y.), who announced his support of President Eisenhower Oct. 11, has spoken in Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York and other major centers of Negro population. Powell withdrew his own earlier statement that President Eisenhower favored jailing persons who refused to obey the Supreme Court school integration decision, a statement that may hurt Republicans in the South. But he has turned up "converts" to Mr. Eisenhower among Negro clergymen or community leaders in every city he has visited. After Powell's visit to Chicago, the Daily News Oct. 23 noted "the first signs of a major break in the Negro vote." CQ has computed there are 61 districts where Negroes hold a theoretical balance of power and their votes could be decisive in close Senate races in California, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. (Weekly Report, p. 491)

3. The outbreak of rioting in Eastern Europe and the sudden crisis in the Middle East turned attention to the Administration's foreign policy record. Republicans claimed the Polish and Hungarian rebellions signalled success for their "peaceful liberation" policy. Democrats claimed the Israeli-Egypt conflict showed the failure of the Administration's Middle East policy, threatened the Atlantic alliance. The affected nationality and religious groups are important voting blocs in such states as Connecticut, Illinois, California, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

### Senate Races in Brief

Democrats have 31 holdover Senators; Republicans, 30. The 35 seats at stake this year line up:

- Safe Republican --(3)-- Kansas, New Hampshire, Vermont.
- Safe Democratic --(11)-- Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina (2).
- Leaning Republican --(8)-- Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky (1), North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin.
- Leaning Democratic --(5)-- Kentucky (1), Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington.
- Doubtful Held by Republicans --(5)-- California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland.
- Doubtful Held by Democrats --(3)-- New York, Oregon, West Virginia.

4. The issue of ending hydrogen bomb tests, raised by Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson, has entered Senate and House campaigns in several states, including California, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Missouri, New York and Pennsylvania. The issue has been adopted by candidates of both parties, with political effects that cannot be estimated.

### More Even

The net result of these changes has been to make the contest for control of Congress closer than it appeared two weeks ago. Democrats went into Senate and House races with fewer shaky seats to defend, more assured victories on which to rely. Republicans now have begun to hope that if Mr. Eisenhower runs as well as he did in 1952, they might regain the narrow control of both chambers they won that year. They are hopeful of holding their own in farm areas and scoring gains through Negro and nationality votes in the cities. Democrats still believe they will hold or add slightly to their present advantages in Senate and House.

In most races for Senate and House, observers agree, local issues, the personalities of the local candidates and the strength of local organizations are more important than national trends or issues. The sections below report some of the major developments in key Senate and House races since the last CQ report:

### Senate Seats

**CALIFORNIA** -- Democrat Richard Richards is neck-and-neck with Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R) in statewide polls that show the President leading Stevenson. Richards is pushing the hydrogen bomb issue.

**COLORADO** -- President Eisenhower's popularity should give ex-Gov. Dan Thornton (R) the edge over ex-Rep. John A. Carroll (D), but the latest statewide polls give Carroll a narrow lead.

**CONNECTICUT** -- Sen. Prescott Bush (R) and Rep. Thomas J. Dodd (D) are still locked in a close battle, whose outcome may be determined by the size of President Eisenhower's expected majority in the state.

**IDAHO** -- The official entry of ex-Sen. Glen Taylor (D), narrowly defeated in the August primary, as a write-in candidate has sharply downgraded Democrat Frank Church's chances of upsetting Sen. Herman Welker (R).

**ILLINOIS** -- Two weeks of televised hearings on the Hodge scandals have weakened the Republican ticket in the state, seriously jeopardized GOP Gov. William G. Stratton's chances of re-election and brought Richard Stengel (D) within striking distance of Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R).

**INDIANA** -- Indications are Claude R. Wickard (D) has not closed the gap on Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R).

**IOWA** -- Some polls put R.M. (Spike) Evans (D) ahead of Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R) among farmers, but the incumbent remains a better than even money bet to repeat.

**KENTUCKY** -- Democratic Gov. A.B. (Happy) Chandler's organization made one gesture toward party harmony Oct. 21 when Chandler became honorary chairman of the campaign advisory committee, but the rift that imperils two Democratic Senate seats continues. Sen. Earle C. Clements (D) has an edge on ex-Rep. Thruston Ballard Morton (R). But in the other race, ex-Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby (D) has at best a 50-50 chance to defeat ex-Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R).

**MARYLAND** No discernible change in the even-up contest between George P. Mahoney (D) and Sen. John Marshall Butler (R).

**MISSOURI** -- Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D) remains a heavy favorite to defeat little-known Herbert Douglas (R).

**NEVADA** -- Republican factionalism contrasts with Democratic unity. Sen. Alan Bible (D) leads Rep. Clifton Young (R).

**NEW YORK** -- Reaction to the U.S. stand on the Israel-Egypt fighting may hurt Jacob K. Javits (R), who had seemed a step ahead in his hard-fought Senate race with Robert F. Wagner Jr. (D).

**NORTH DAKOTA** -- Sen. Milton R. Young (R) leads Quentin Burdick (D).

**OHIO** -- Republicans say Mr. Eisenhower would have to run as well as he did in 1952 to give Sen. George F. Bender (R) a chance against Gov. Frank J. Lausche (D).

**OREGON** -- An all-out finish in the grudge fight between Sen. Wayne L. Morse (D) and Douglas McKay (R) finds Morse hard-pressed, but holding a narrow lead.

**PENNSYLVANIA** -- The only two-stop state on the President's itinerary, Pennsylvania still rates Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D) ahead of Sen. James H. Duff (R).

**SOUTH DAKOTA** -- Disparity in soil bank payments between South and North Dakota has given Kenneth Holum (D) another talking point against Sen. Francis Case (R), but Case rates the favorite in a Republican state.

**UTAH** -- Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R) is desperately seeking to avoid the cross-fire between Republican Gov. J. Bracken Lee, beaten in the primary and now an independent candidate for re-election, and Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R). Bennett rates a slight favorite over Democrat Alonzo F. Hopkin because of President Eisenhower's popularity.

**WASHINGTON** -- Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D) seems likely to survive the personal attack launched by supporters of his opponent, Gov. Arthur B. Langlie (R), and win re-election to a third term.

**WEST VIRGINIA** -- Republicans see a "sleeper" victory here. Gov. William C. Marland (D), whose administration is under continuing fire, has at best a slight edge on ex-Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R) in a normally Democratic state.

**WISCONSIN** -- Sen. Alexander Wiley (R) holds a comfortable lead over State Sen. Henry W. Maier (D).

## House Seats

As the election moves into the final week, CQ's survey indicated there were 122 Marginal Districts -- two more than listed in the first CQ Congressional survey. (Weekly Report, p. 1263) Districts added were the 5th Kentucky and the 27th New York.

In its final survey, CQ found 45 House districts where the outcome is doubtful. Twenty-three are held by Republicans; 22 by Democrats. CQ found 77 Fighting Districts -- where the incumbent party had the edge, but the challenger had a chance to win. Fifty of these Fighting Districts were held by Republicans, 27 by Democrats.

Each party claims it will carry the House. Democrats now control it by 29 seats, claim that their net pickup will be 10 to 20 seats. House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R Mass.) said he anticipated Republicans would have control of the House with 225 -- making a net gain of 22 seats. Republicans need 218 seats to win control. Democrats currently hold 230 House seats, the GOP 201. There are four vacancies, two in Safe Republican districts and two in Safe Democratic districts. In addition, Rep. James G. Donovan of New York City's 18th District, a Democrat in the 84th Congress, is running for re-election as a Republican in a heavily Democratic area. In the Maine Congressional elections last Sept. 10, Democrats picked up one House seat, a second is still in dispute. Thus Republicans must make a net gain of at least 18 seats to control the House in 1957.

Here are some important late developments:

- Delaware At Large -- Earlier, Democrats appeared to have the edge; now the outcome is in doubt. Democrats fear defection of Wilmington Negro voters may endanger the seat held by Rep. Harris B. McDowell (D). There were 43,598 Negroes in the state in 1950, comprising 13.7 percent of total population. District elections usually are close, particularly in Presidential election years. A first timer, McDowell won by 14,166 out of 144,236 votes cast in 1954. Republicans hope to carry the state for Eisenhower and carry in Harry G. Haskell Jr. (R) on his coattails. Democrats are making strong bid for governorship, hope that race will help McDowell.

- 1st (Northern) Idaho -- Rep. Gracie Pfost's (D) edge has been cut by the hard campaigning of Louise Shadduck (R) of Coeur d'Alene. Former secretary to Sen. Henry C. Dworshak (R), Miss Shadduck also is carrying on "operation handshake" to match that of Mrs. Pfost who is said to have "never met a stranger in her life." Miss Shadduck is riding coattails of President Eisenhower, who carried the district by 60.9 percent of the vote in 1952. Miss Shadduck seeking support of miners and lumberjacks, the majority of whom backed Mrs. Pfost in the past. Democratic cause in state also has been hurt by the entry of former Sen. Glen Taylor (D) as write-in candidate in the Senate race. The 1st District race has been determined by



## Congressional Roundup - 3

less than 1,000 votes in 1948, 1950, 1952. A two-term, Mrs. Pfost increased her majority in 1954, winning by 8,921 out of 91,507 votes. The final outcome is doubtful.

- 21st Illinois (East Central-Springfield) -- Recent hearings on scandals involving the state Republican administration downgraded chances of Frederic S. O'Hara (R) of Springfield to upset Rep. Peter F. Mack Jr. (D). Republican Sangamon County organization has not been functioning as well as GOP hoped. Mack has the edge.

- 8th Massachusetts (Everett, Medford, Boston suburbs) -- State Rep. C. Eugene Farnam (R) of Medford has been decreasing the lead of freshman Rep. Torbert H. Macdonald (D). President Eisenhower's appearance in Boston was expected to give Farnam's campaign another boost in closing days. Farnam was riding Presidential coattails, while Macdonald hopes the popularity of Sen. John F. Kennedy (D), his college roommate, will help him. District has been Marginal since 1948. Macdonald ousted veteran Angier L. Goodwin (R) in 1954 by 8,954 out of 140,184 votes cast. Outcome doubtful.

- 1st (Eastern) South Dakota -- Rep. Harold O. Lovre (R) is pulling away from challenger George S. McGovern (D) of Mitchell in a tight contest. A heavily favored GOP state ticket helping Lovre, who now has edge.

- 6th Virginia (Roanoke-Lynchburg-West Central) -- The organization of Sen. Harry Flood Byrd is going all-out to try to defeat two-term Rep. Richard H. Poff (R). The dominant Democratic state organization does not want the Sixth to become a Republican district permanently. Through his skillful Presidential coattail campaign Poff won in 1952 by 2,044 out of 66,050 votes cast. In 1954 he won by 13,128 out of 52,743 votes cast. Mr. Eisenhower's appearance in the state was calculated to help Poff. Outcome doubtful.

### Added House Districts

- 6th Kentucky (Northcentral-Lexington) -- John C. Watts (D), Nicholasville attorney and farmer, vs. Wallace (Wah Wah) Jones (R) of Lexington, Fayette County sheriff.

Jones is running a spirited race against Watts, a three-term. Watts has the edge in this normally Democratic district, but with Kentucky's 18-year-olds voting for the first time, Jones has an outside chance to win. A former All-America basketball player at the University of Kentucky, Jones can be expected to run particularly well in Lexington, the University's home. President Eisenhower has campaigned in Lexington and plugged for Jones. Leans Democratic.

- 27th New York (Putnam County -- Western Westchester County-Yonkers-Peekskill) -- William D. Carlebach (D; Lib.) of Yonkers, executive assistant, New York Department of Commerce, vs. Ralph W. Gwinn (R), Bronxville attorney.

Gwinn has held this district since 1945 without an upset. But this year he narrowly won his primary over Christian H. Armbruster, member of the Westchester Board of Supervisors, by a margin of 2,019 votes. Armbruster considered running as independent, but he decided not to do so. Now many of Armbruster's supporters are backing Carlebach. Gwinn's stands against federal aid to education, public housing, farm subsidies and foreign aid are under attack. Carlebach claims that Gwinn has not supported the Eisenhower program; Gwinn claims he supported the Administration on 90 percent of all issues; CQ reports Gwinn supported the President 45 percent of the time, opposed him 25 percent of the time in the 84th Congress. Leans Republican.

## House Marginal Districts

The following 122 Congressional Districts in 34 states are classed as Marginal by Congressional Quarterly; they are districts in which either party candidate has a chance of winning. The Doubtful Districts, on the basis of past votes and current campaigns, could be won by either party. The Fighting Districts are those in which the incumbent candidate is a favorite to win, but the challenger does have a chance to upset him, although the chance may be slight.

In the chart, the numbers on the line with the state are the Congressional Districts in the state that are either Doubtful or Fighting. For more information on the districts, see Weekly Report No. 42, p. 1263.

State	45 DOUBTFUL DISTRICTS		77 FIGHTING DISTRICTS	
	Demo-- Held (22)	GOP Held (23)	Demo Edge (27)	GOP Edge (50)
Ariz.		1		
Calif.		6, 11	12	7, 9, 29
Colo.	1		4	3
Conn.			1	2, 3, 5
Del.	At large			
Fla.	6	1	4, 7	
Ga.			5	
Idaho	1			
Ill.	12, 25	11	2, 3, 21	4, 19, 23
Ind.		3, 6	8	5, 9
Iowa				2, 4, 5, 6
Kan.				1, 4, 5, 6
Ky.		3	6	
Md.			5, 7	1, 6
Mass.	8	10	2	
Mich.	6, 17	7, 12		9, 11, 18
Minn.	3, 9			5, 7
Mo.	4, 6		11	
Mont.		2		
Neb.				2
Nev.		At large		
N.H.				1
N.J.	6		11	12
N.Y.	6	12, 15, 17		5, 25, 27, 41, 42
N.C.			9	10
Ohio	6, 9			3, 11, 15, 16
Ore.		2	3	4
Pa.	11, 19, 25	6, 8, 10, 22	3, 4, 5	12, 20, 24
S.D.				1
Texas		5		
Va.	9	6	1, 3	10
Wash.				1, 4
W.Va.	4		1, 2	
Wis.			5, 9	1, 3



## WHAT WILL PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS BE IN 1957?

What programs and policies will the winning Presidential candidate carry out during the next four years? To answer that question, Congressional Quarterly combed the major speeches and statements of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson since they received their parties' nominations in August.

The President Oct. 1 said "our past performance is the evidence that we can and will do the job that remains to be done.... Most of the items I have...listed in our hopes and plans for the years just ahead are already backed up by specific laws enacted or bills in Congress -- based on my last three State of the Union messages.... This is a working plan of action."

In his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention Aug. 17, Stevenson said, "The program you have written (the Democratic platform) is a signpost toward...a New America.... These are the things I believe in and will work for with every resource I possess." On Sept. 24, Stevenson said he would prepare "a series of statements on certain issues to make sure our Democratic position is fully explained. I hope these statements will be useful in our efforts to carry our message to the people."

Following is a breakdown of the programs and policies outlined by Eisenhower and Stevenson since their nomination in August. Where the President has not specified his proposals for future action, CQ has listed the relevant programs he has recommended since his inauguration in 1953.

### Agriculture

#### EISENHOWER

"We will maintain price supports carrying the essential principle of flexibility.

"We will use the new soil bank to its full potential to bolster farm prices, conserve our soil and balance farm production.

"We will continue rapidly to use up our huge surpluses constructively at home and abroad.... We will expand" distribution of government-owned food to the needy, and the school lunch program.

"We will keep the farm credit program...adjusted to the needs of family farmers.

"We will use special programs to relieve periodic market congestion of perishable farm products.

"We will continue expanding the new rural development program...to help the lowest income families in farming."

"We will continue emergency help to farmers and ranchers beset by natural disasters.

"We will continue to strengthen such long-established, indispensable programs as rural electrification and rural telephone service...agricultural research to develop new crops, new uses, new markets...our expanded soil and water conservation programs."

(The above proposals were outlined in a speech Sept. 25, 1956.)

#### STEVENSON

"We propose to support basic commodities at 90 percent of parity...to extend protection to perishables through a combination of direct production payments, marketing agreements and production adjustments.

"We will administer vigorously the soil bank.... I would urge consideration of what could be called a 'legume bank' to change the emphasis from reducing cash crop production to increasing acreage of soil-building crops.

"We can vastly expand our school lunch program.

"We can launch a new food stamp program.

"We can encourage voluntary relief agencies to distribute surplus foods (abroad) and we can create a world food bank and materials reserve to help the people of other nations.

"We must go on to assure ample credit at fair rates to the farmer who has to borrow money.

"We must...take emergency measures when needed to prevent another dust bowl.

"We must protect REA (rural electrification) co-ops by safeguarding and using the preference clause, and by assuring them adequate funds for transmission, generation and distribution.... Strengthen the agricultural and Soil Conservation Service (and) restore the role of leadership to the conservation districts."

(The above proposals were outlined in a speech Sept. 22, 1956.)

### Education

#### EISENHOWER

On Oct. 1, 1956, the President reiterated his support for the five-year program of federal aid to states for construction of schools that he had proposed in January 1956. He said he would "call upon the next session of Congress to enact legislation that will do the job -- not in five years -- but in four years." The President's five-year program, as outlined in January, provided for:

\$1.25 billion in federal grants to states for construction of schools in financially needy districts; states would be required to match federal funds.

Distribution of grants on the basis of need; low-income states would get larger amounts per school-age child than high-income states and would be permitted to put up a smaller proportion of matching funds than high-income states.

\$750 million in federal funds for purchase of local school construction bonds that local agencies were unable to sell except at "excessive" interest rates.

Aid to states in financing local school construction under lease-purchase plans.

The President also proposed in January 1956:

Increased funds to expand and improve research and other services of the Office of Education.

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Appointment of a "distinguished group of educators and citizens" to develop, through studies and conferences, proposals to improve education beyond high school.

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Oct. 1 outlined the following program for education: "(Consider) a Department of Education in the President's cabinet.

"Federal aid to states.

"Not limiting federal aid to grants for school construction. The building shortage is the most obvious one but the hidden crisis--the shortage of teachers is...as important.

"Consider a program of general aid, leaving states and communities free to assign their own priorities in using supplemental funds from the government."

Part of federal aid...be on a nonmatching basis.

"Positive insurance that federal funds would not be used to reduce or supplant state or local support for education.

"Federal grants should take into account both the number of school-age children and the element of economic need in the various states; many states already follow an equalization principle in distributing aid among their communities; a federal program embodying the same principles would give further encouragement in this practice.

"Federal and state governments alike should be concerned with reducing the severe educational handicaps presently suffered by youngsters who...happen to live in economically underprivileged communities."

Request legislation to determine the fixing of the amount or terms of federal grants.

Provide grants for higher education by:

"(Establishing) a limited number of federally supported undergraduate scholarships or loans" for persons unable to afford college;

"Granting...fellowships on basis of merit and need to specially qualified students prepared to commit themselves to service in teaching or in other fields of particularly acute shortage;"

"Continue and expand the (educational) exchange program..."

"(Expand) federal program of assistance for vocational and adult education."

## Aged -- Social Security

#### EISENHOWER

"We have launched a whole new array of special...programs for retired or aging persons," the President said Oct. 1, 1956. While he promised to "continue expanding and improving" such programs (Oct. 25, 1956), the President has not made any specific proposals during the campaign. He has said that "stable living costs" are "vital...especially to our older people depending upon fixed income, life insurance, pensions or social security" (Oct. 17, 1956). His 1954-1956 recommendations:

Extend social security to 10.5 million workers (1954); extend coverage to self-employed and other groups not yet covered (1956).

Increase monthly social security payments and increase the amount of income a retired person might earn without losing social security benefits (1954).

Enact legislation requiring federal registration of private pension plans and welfare funds and reports on their administration and finances -- in order to protect beneficiaries of such plans (1956).

Improve housing for the aged by granting preference to older persons and their families in admission to public housing projects; authorizing mortgage insurance on favorable terms for apartments built for occupancy in whole or in part by older persons; permitting third parties to guarantee monthly payments in behalf of older persons buying a home under a federally insured mortgage (1956).

Improve and expand health programs.

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Sept. 24 and Oct. 28 offered the following program to solve economic problems of the aged:

Extend "the principle...(of)...no discrimination on account of age in employing people between 45 and 65."

Encourage federal contractors to develop employment opportunities for older people.

Develop extensive training programs for older people.

"(Establish) an Office of Older Persons' Welfare in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

"(Revise)...retirement programs and policies to take account of the increasing work life of many individuals."

Increase the amount retired persons can earn without loss of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance benefits, but take "action to protect the wage structure against...competition...(of) hiring retired people at sub-standard wages."

Make a "comprehensive review and redetermination of the adequacy of existing OASI and Old Age assistance benefits.

Make available facilities and services required to meet the special needs of older people in housing and health.

Provide housing, by public housing, or by "federal underwriting of housing projects...financed primarily or at least sponsored by fraternal organizations, private charitable groups and labor unions."

Protect health by considering:

The "possibility of adding a program of hospital insurance for the old to the present OASI system."

"Suggestions...made for encouragement, possibly the underwriting...of, private programs of comprehensive health insurance which preserve the private patient-doctor relationship."

"Immediate and substantial expansion of...programs for research into the causes and cures of diseases" affecting the aged.

## Health

#### EISENHOWER

During the 1956 campaign, the President has not made any specific proposals relating to health programs. He has praised his Administration's record for "expanded and improved" health programs (Oct. 9), has said that he would "continue expanding and improving...programs for the benefit of the sick..." During 1954 to 1956, the President proposed:

Legislation to establish a federal reinsurance fund to encourage private voluntary insurance plans to expand coverage for severe illness of low-income and rural groups (proposed in 1954, 1955, 1956).

Legislation to permit smaller health insurance companies or non-profit associations to pool their resources and experience in developing improved health insurance coverage (1956).

Legislation to stimulate state, local and private construction of hospitals, clinics, and nursing homes through expanded federal grants and federal mortgage insurance of private loans (1954, 1955, 1956).

Increased funds for federal medical research programs (1954, 1955, 1956).

Legislation to provide federal matching grants to non-federal institutions for construction of medical research facilities (1956).

Legislation providing federal grants for training graduate nurses, practical nurses and public health specialists (1956).

Legislation to provide federal matching grants to non-federal medical institutions for construction of teaching facilities (1956).

Legislation providing federal matching of expenditures for medical care of persons on state and local relief rolls (1955 and 1956).

Federal grants to improve mental health programs (1955, 1956).

#### STEVENSON

Following is the health program Stevenson proposed Sept. 9: "Make sure that medical research...is not held back by lack of funds."

Extend and enlarge current programs for building research facilities, in order "to meet the full need." (PL 835, 84th Congress provided \$90 million over a three-year period in matching grants to build medical research facilities.)

"Train...enough medical personnel so that all genuine needs for medical care can be met."

Provide a "federal loan and scholarship program for medical education along the lines indicated in the program for education."

Administer the program so as "to serve particularly the special need for doctors in depressed and underprivileged areas" (i.e.,) give "priority consideration...to applicants...from these areas, upon their commitment to serve in these areas for a period following their education."

"Build enough...facilities (so) that all genuine needs for institutional care can be satisfied."

"Continue and expand the Hill-Burton Act" of 1946 authorizing federal aid to the states for hospital construction.

Provide a "program to make comprehensive private health insurance available on a voluntary basis" to everyone.

Provide "some form of federal aid...to achieve this goal,.... (a) long-term interest-bearing loans...to cooperative, labor and other groups desirous of getting started on group health insurance programs; (b) matching grants to the states to pay part of the costs of voluntary health insurance for low-income" groups.

Provide that the program would not be compulsory for any person, and it would not restrict the "freedom to choose (one's) doctor."

## Housing

### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 1, 1956, said that "more homes have been built in the last three years than in any previous three-year period;" that he sees in the future "an America where every family can afford and find a decent home." During the current campaign, he has not made any proposals for future housing programs. The President's housing proposals from 1954 to 1956 included:

Construction of 35,000 new public housing units a year for low-income families and persons displaced by slum clearance and urban renewal programs (proposed in 1954, 1955, 1956).

Increases in the maximum amount of FHA-insurable loans on new and existing homes and liberalized terms on FHA loans for home repair and modernization (1954, 1956).

Liberalized terms on FHA-insured mortgages with minimum down payments and long maturities -- for low-cost sales and rental housing for low-income families displaced by slum clearance (1954 and 1956).

Expanded programs of federal loans and grants, new authority for FHA insurance of private credit for the elimination of slums and rehabilitation of neighborhoods (1954, 1955).

Programs to provide housing for old people.

### STEVENSON

Stevenson Oct. 2 criticized President Eisenhower's public housing proposals, said they have been "only one-fourth as large as what the late Sen. (Robert A.) Taft (R Ohio 1939-53) thought was essential.... Taft...proposed 135,000 public housing units a year. President Eisenhower proposed only 35,000 units." Stevenson said the amount of new public housing under the Republican Administration was only half as much as was built in the three preceding Democratic years.

Stevenson Oct. 28 recommended "a program for low-rent housing which allows for an increase of...100,000 units per year over current programs and outlays for financing experimental programs for farm housing and middle-income housing.

"A program for urban redevelopment, including slum clearance; our present program would require 200 years to deal with current slums."

## Labor

### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 1, 1956, listed "some unfinished business in my program which has been blocked by the (Democratic) opposition in Congress," said he would "call again" for the following programs:

"Financial and technical aid to areas suffering chronic local unemployment," (so called depressed areas). The President's program, as outlined in January, 1956, called for the program to be administered by a new unit to be set up in the Department of Commerce.

"Extension of the federal minimum wage law to great numbers of working men and women who today do not have its protection."

"Grants to states to expand and strengthen their programs for occupational safety."

On Oct. 12 the President referred to his recommendations for "changes in the Taft-Hartley Act that I think would be better for labor," particularly amendments to:

Protect the right of economic strikers to vote in representative elections.

Equalize the obligation under the act to file non-Communist affidavits.

On Oct. 25 the President promised to:

"Continue economic and fiscal policies that have helped generate our present prosperity. Soon there will be 70 million jobs for our people..."

"Continue the fostering of industrial peace, allowing both labor and production to reach new frontiers of progress."

### STEVENSON

Stevenson suggested the following labor policies, in speeches on Sept. 4, Oct. 3 and 6:

"Repeal and replace the Taft-Hartley Act with a new law which will strengthen and equalize the essential processes of free collective bargaining.

"Make our economy stronger in all parts and...make...more stable the consumer purchasing power upon which full employment must depend.

"...Insist upon expanded programs of unemployment insurance, worker re-training, guaranteed annual wage and other programs aimed to share equitably between business, the consumer and the displaced worker the transitional costs of technological change.

"(Give) effective consideration (to) areas under special economic strain. We first need an assessment of the effects of federal taxation and spending" on the economic life of these areas.

"Create more jobs...in depressed areas where there are not enough jobs to go around. ...In some cases (that requires)...a vigorous federal program...(to) backstop and supplement local efforts."

Stevenson Sept. 8 endorsed S 2663, a bill "designed to help communities with chronic unemployment to help themselves." He said its passage is "one of the most important items on Congress' agenda when it is reconvened." The bill would create an independent Area Redevelopment Administration to handle the program. (Weekly Report, p. 907).

## H-Bomb -- Disarmament

### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 23, 1956, issued a "full and explicit review of (the)...government's policies and actions with respect to development and testing of nuclear weapons." Among the "salient points" listed by the President:

"Securing of effective safeguards and controls" is the "indispensable principle upon which we have insisted...in any program of disarmament."

"Our government has kept enlarging its stockpile of nuclear weapons and has continued its development and testing of the most advanced nuclear weapons" in the light of the "refusal of the Soviet Union to accept any dependable system of mutual safeguards."

"Continuance of the present rate of H-bomb testing -- by the most sober and responsible scientific judgment -- does not imperil the health of humanity."

"Continuance of this testing is having two important beneficial results...(a) the most recent tests enable us to harness and discipline our weapons more precisely and effectively -- drastically reducing their fall out and making them more easy to concentrate, if ever used, on military objectives...(b) these same recent tests have helped us to develop...weapons for defense of our people against any possible attack, as well as knowledge vital to our whole program of civil defense."

"There is radioactive fall-out, including Strontium 90, from the testing of all nuclear weapons, of whatever size.... Such fall-out cannot be avoided -- as has been implied -- by limiting tests to the smaller nuclear weapons."



"A simple agreement to stop H-bomb tests cannot be regarded as automatically self-enforcing on the unverified assumption that such tests can instantly and surely be detected.... It is...impossible...to have positive assurance of such detection, except in the case of the largest weapons."

"If your government were to suspend research and preparation for tests...(or) to suspend only its tests, while continuing precautionary research and preparation...(we could either) find our present commanding lead in nuclear weapons erased...(or) suffer a serious military disadvantage."

"These facts dictate two conclusions:...We must continue -- until properly safeguarded international agreements can be reached -- to develop our strength in the most advanced weapons.... We must...continue to strive ceaselessly to achieve, not the illusion, but the reality of world disarmament." It would be "illusion" to rely upon "agreements without safeguards" or to suggest that "simple suspension of our nuclear tests, without sure knowledge of the actions of others, signifies progress."

The President listed the following "manifest evidence" of his Administration's "unremitting...efforts to ease the burden of armaments...to establish effective international control of the testing and use of all nuclear weapons and to promote international use of atomic energy for...peace:

"(a) my appeal to these specific purposes as early as my address of April 16, 1953.

"(b) the offer of 'atoms for peace' in December of the same year.

"(c) the appointment of a special assistant for disarmament.

"(d) my offer at the meeting of the heads of state at Geneva in July of 1955, for immediate exchange of military blueprints between the United States and the Soviet Union, and mutual air inspection by the 'open skies' formula.

"(e) acceptance of the Soviet proposal for ground control teams if combined with air inspection.

"(f) the approval this week of the statute to govern the International Atomic Energy Agency with 81 nations participating in its peaceful purposes.

"(g) our continuing, constructive participation in the work of the United Nations disarmament commission."

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Oct. 15 proposed that the United States "take the lead in establishing (a) world policy" toward halting further tests of H-bombs. He said:

"We dare not tear down and abandon armed deterrents to war before we devise and secure other and more effective guaranties of peace.

"Yet...(in order to) make any progress we must...come forward with proposals which bear witness to our desire to move toward and not away from disarmament.

"...with this...in mind...I proposed last spring (April 21) that all countries concerned halt further tests of...H bombs. And I proposed that the United States take the lead in establishing this world policy (because)...(1)...the H-bomb is already so powerful that a single bomb could destroy the largest city in the world; (2)...the testing of an H-bomb anywhere can be detected quickly; (3)...these tests themselves may cause the human race unmeasured damage (because) with every explosion of a super-bomb, huge quantities of radioactive material are...(released which contain)...Strontium-90 which is the most dreadful poison in the world;" (4) within a year many other countries might be conducting H-bomb tests.

"Russia and Great Britain have declared their willingness to join in trying to establish the kind of policy I have suggested."

"If another power conducts further tests we would know it and would have to resume such tests ourselves...."

"We should prepare ourselves so that if another country violated the agreement, we could promptly resume our testing program."

"We should not stop our research."

"We would give up none of our stockpile. We would...add to it, as needed, from current production."

"We would continue to develop and test smaller nuclear weapons."

"We should continue our research and development on guided missiles for defense and use in the field."

## Draft -- Defense

#### EISENHOWER

Ending the military draft "cannot be done under world conditions of today.... This I state categorically," the President said Sept. 19, 1956. "We must maintain our military strength -- balancing it and perfecting it, in weapons and in strategy, so that its sheer effectiveness restrains any aggressor. We must perfect such military strength in ways that impose the least possible penalty upon our economic strength...." In an Oct. 6 statement the President reiterated the following aspects of his Administration's national security program:

Continue the military draft law. "The draft does more than fill up our armed strength by calling men into service. The very existence of the...law so stimulates voluntary enlistment that, for some of the services, draft calls are reduced or non-existent."

Reduce the number of men in service "without damaging the nation's security" by taking "every advantage of new advances in the technology of modern arms...."

Establish "many new choices of military and Reserve service.. (so that) no young man has to wait for the draft to plan his future."

Increase voluntary enlistments and reenlistment of men already trained, keeping monthly draft calls down.

Build a "Ready Reserve that will be strong and effective...a needed supplement to our standing forces and...a means to hold our active duty strength at reasonable levels.... Selective Service is an essential stimulant for building up the necessary Reserve strength."

#### STEVENSON

In speeches Sept. 5 and Oct. 18, Stevenson made the following proposals for revising the draft as a part of the defense system:

"We can now anticipate the possibility...that within the foreseeable future we can maintain the military forces we need without the draft. ...I think it is the national will...that the draft be ended at the earliest possible moment consistent with the national safety."

"We need more and more today a type of military personnel, experienced and professional, which our present draft system does not give us. The draft means a tremendous turnover in our military personnel and a resultant high proportion of inexperienced personnel."

The U.S. should:

"(Reexamine) our military policy in the light of the recent extraordinary changes in military technology."

"(Search) out ways of making military service attractive enough that sufficient numbers of young men will choose such service voluntarily and will then remain in the services for longer periods."

"(Use) the money...saved by this reduction (in training replacements)...to provide...improved working conditions and perhaps...offer special bonus inducements for longer service."

"Consider offering university scholarships where there are needs for particularly highly trained men.... (The) scholarships...will provide specialized training in conjunction with a liberal education to applicants otherwise qualified who will agree to spend a specific period in the armed forces."

"(Keep) our armed forces at full strength."

"(Meet) our obligations on this score under the NATO agreements."

## Civil Rights

#### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 14, 1956, said he would "continue to work for" the following four-point civil rights program until "the full and free exercises of rights and privileges for every United States citizen becomes real and meaningful":

1. "A bipartisan civil rights commission concerned with safeguarding the fundamental rights of every American citizen as guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States."

2. "A civil rights section in the Department of Justice."

3. "New laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights."
4. "Greater freedom for the federal government to seek preventive relief in civil rights cases."

The President said his Administration would "continue to combat practices inimical to our free way of life. It will take immediate action within its jurisdiction to stamp out any attempt by any one group to interfere with the rights and privileges of any other group. It will defend the dignity of the individual."

#### STEVENSON

Since the Democratic Presidential nominating convention, Stevenson has not offered a detailed program for civil rights. Stevenson Sept. 25 reiterated his endorsement of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. He called for acceptance of the Court decision, said "our common goal is the orderly accomplishment of the result decreed by the Court." He said the office of the Presidency should be used "to bring together those of opposing views in this matter -- to the end of creating a climate for peaceful acceptance of this decision."

## Taxes

#### EISENHOWER

During the 1956 campaign, the President has not made any proposals relating to taxes -- except for tax revisions affecting small business. The President's previous tax recommendations have included:

Revise the Internal Revenue Code to reduce total individual income taxes by about \$585 million and total corporation taxes by \$600 million to \$700 million (proposed in 1954).

Make no further tax cuts unless reductions will "not unbalance the budget" (January, 1956).

Postpone scheduled reductions in corporation income tax rates and excise tax rates (proposed annually from 1954 to 1956).

Permit regulated investment companies with the bulk of their assets in tax-exempt securities to "pass through" to their shareholders the tax-exempt status of the income from such securities. (1955 and 1956).

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Oct. 28 outlined his program for taxes:

"(Taxes should not be reduced) in a boom. (Then), we should welcome a surplus, for it removes money that would otherwise be spent and thus it helps to dampen inflationary pressure and to retain the value of the dollar."

"(Taxes should be reduced) when we are not able to buy all that we can produce. Then we need the additional buying power that a tax reduction provides."

Persons should be taxed according to their ability to pay. "When the time for tax reduction comes, the first move should be to relieving taxpayers in the lowest income groups." This could be done by increasing exemptions, or by "(lowering) tax rates at the bottom of the scale."

"(For) the middle and higher income brackets...further erosion of the income tax base (should be halted). Tax readjustment should include the cutting down of very high surtax rates to more moderate levels, in exchange for the elimination of loopholes. There must be more effective collection, such as a broadening of the withholding provisions of the income tax so that they will apply to dividends and interest in the same way they do to salaries and wages."

"When conditions permit, some reduction in the size of corporation tax will be in order.... When there is room for revenue reduction, we could improve the fairness of the tax by correlating it more closely with the personal income tax on dividends."

"As we look to the future development of the peacetime tax structure, we must guard against too much reliance on sales taxes."

"We should adjust federal fiscal policies to take account of the needs of states and localities. A responsible national government can enlarge the capacity of state and local governments to meet the needs imposed on them by cooperation in government borrowing,...in tax enforcement, and...in financing basic services."

## Natural Resources

#### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 18, 1956, reiterated his Administration's "partnership policy" -- joining federal, state, local and private effort in the development of natural resources -- first enunciated in 1953. The President said that "power requirements for the next 10 years will cost some \$40 billion. There is not -- and there will not be -- that much federal money to be distributed in such a period. Only the partnership program can do the job...." The President has made no specific proposals during the campaign. His previous programs for natural resource development have included:

Federal construction of projects which, because of size and complexity, are beyond the means of local public or private enterprise. Recommended projects included the multi-purpose Upper Colorado River Basin project, Frypan-Arkansas reclamation project, the St. Lawrence Seaway navigation project.

Encouragement of local public and private development of power and water resources, with federal contributions, when necessary, to pay for features of projects developed for national purposes, such as flood control. Actions included: approval of private-enterprise construction of three dams at Hells Canyon; a 1954 contract subsequently cancelled, with the Dixon-Yates group for private-enterprise construction of a \$107 million generating plant to feed power into the Tennessee Valley Authority System (to replace an equivalent amount of TVA power diverted to an AEC atomic energy plant); proposed legislation authorizing joint federal-local "partnership" development of four water and power projects in the Pacific Northwest.

A 10-year program to expand and improve the national parks (Mission 66) -- proposed in February, 1956.

Federal financial aid to local groups in financing small conservation and reclamation projects.

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Sept. 22 and 24 made the following proposals for power and conservation:

Place public lands and forests and wildlife refuges beyond "itching fingers...stop the give-aways."

Restore and extend soil conservation under "sound local control."

"Move beyond conservation to development."

Develop a federal water resources policy, with "federal leadership and...investment on a truly cooperative basis" with state and local governments.

Develop watersheds and do all possible to tap and enlarge ground water resources.

Stevenson Oct. 4 said: "In the last 20 years we have made important progress in improvement of farm forest management. This program should be improved and strengthened. In addition, I would also favor a close and sympathetic look at the whole problem of forest insurance for the independent man with small holdings."

"We need to cultivate...much of...poorly stocked (and unplanted)...commercial forest...into a good tree crop. The Soil Conservation Service has been weakened and must be revived."

"Conservation is...good business. A sound conservation policy is the framework for effective private initiative."

## Small Business

#### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 22, 1956 outlined his Administration's "future program" for small business. The recommendations were based on an August, 1956, report of the Cabinet Committee on Small Business. The recommendations:

Taxes -- "A one-third reduction in the tax on the first \$25,000 of corporation incomes; accelerated depreciation for purchases of used property; an option to an estate consisting largely of investments in closely-held business concerns to pay death taxes over a period up to 10 years, in order to avoid disruption of



small enterprises; an option to any corporation with few stock holders to be taxed as a partnership."

Procurement -- "A comprehensive review of procurement policies, procedures and legislation, with a view to increasing small business' share in government contracts; steps to encourage greater sub-contracting to small business;...measures to insure that the need for progress payments by a small business concern will not handicap its obtaining a government contract."

Unfair Competition -- "Legislation to enable closer scrutiny by the Department of Justice of proposed mergers;...procedural changes in the anti-trust laws to facilitate enforcement."

Corporate Financing -- "Raising the existing statutory exemption from SEC registration from \$300,000 to \$500,000" (to) facilitate the issue by small corporations of their securities."

Technological Aid -- "Developing, in consultation with research experts, programs to keep small business abreast of the rapid advances which research has made in modern technology."

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Sept. 8 proposed the following policy for small business:

"(Give) small business...a spokesman, an agency staffed by men who believe in small business."

"...help to meet the working capital needs (of small businesses) by making long-term credit more readily available at reasonable rates of interest."

"...tighten up and enforce our anti-monopoly and restrictive trade legislation."

"(Make) changes in the tax laws to give small business the break it deserves."

"Work with the Securities and Exchange Commission to make public financing easier for small business."

"(Give) small firms a fairer share of defense and other government contracts."

Stevenson Oct. 28 said: "It would be possible...to improve the effect of the present tax on small business concerns. This can be done through readjustments of rates or through new methods of accelerating depreciation aimed primarily at small business firms."

## Foreign Aid

#### EISENHOWER

During the campaign, the President has made no proposals relating to foreign aid. In a March 19, 1956, message to Congress, the President said the Mutual Security Program "is vitally important to our people.... That cost is a low price to pay for the security and vastly greater chances for world peace which the program provides." The President's previous foreign aid proposals have included:

Renewal, on an annual basis, of U.S. military, economic and technical aid to friendly nations, with authorization of the following funds to finance the programs: 1953, \$5.5 billion; 1954, \$3.5 billion; 1955, \$3.4 billion; 1956, \$4.7 billion. (Authorizations were requested for the ensuing fiscal years.)

Limited authority to make "commitments up to 10 years in length to assist less developed countries in long-term projects important to their development" (1956).

Creation of a special \$100 million fund for use in any part of the Middle East or Africa for non-military programs that would "advance the cause of free world security and economic strength" (1956).

Creation of a special \$200 million Fund for Asian Economic Development (1955, 1956).

Appointment of a Presidential advisory committee to review the foreign aid program and recommend revisions (1956).

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Sept. 5 said: "Our foreign aid programs are not accomplishing their purpose. The emphasis has been heavily military, but we cannot meet the hunger of the underdeveloped countries for economic growth and political independence by sending them sermons and guns. If we cannot meet the challenge of economic betterment by voluntary democratic means, we risk the

loss of the struggle in a vast area, which may well determine the balance of world power in the second half of the 20th Century."

## Trade

#### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 23, 1956, said the U.S. must "manage our commerce with other nations (so) that we are joined with them in genuine partnership of trade, fostering a spiral of mutually shared prosperity and abundance...." During the campaign, he has made no specific proposals relating to trade. His previous trade recommendations included:

A three-year extension of the President's authority to negotiate tariff agreements with other nations, together with authority to negotiate reduction of existing tariffs on a gradual, selective, reciprocal basis (1954, 1955).

Approval of U.S. membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC), to be set up to administer a 34-nation provisional code of fair competition in foreign trade practices (1955, 1956).

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Oct. 6 said: "I believe...that the policy of keeping other countries out of American markets leads, in the end, to isolation and disaster. I believe in trade...and trading means buying as well as selling. So I am in general opposed to tariff increases which discourage buying and therefore selling abroad. I believe in a policy of gradual tariff reduction. I do not believe that the brunt of this policy should be borne by weak industries or by parts of the country under special economic strain. The problem of increasing world trade and of relieving the dollar shortage is a national problem."

## Immigration

#### EISENHOWER

The President Oct. 25 said: "We shall vigorously lead the way to a review and revision of our immigration laws -- to serve our own national interest, to promote understanding in the world and to give new validity to America's role of leadership. For it is alien to the very spirit of America that any man be judged by place of birth or accent or speech."

In February, 1956, the President asked Congress to undertake a "basic revision" of the immigration laws. Among the President's recommendations:

An increase in the maximum annual immigration quota.

Re-examination of the national-origins method of admitting aliens and adoption "on an experimental basis" of a new system to admit aliens according to "new guidelines and standards."

Reallocation of unused quota numbers.

Removal of provisions of the immigration law which create "unnecessary" restrictions and hardships on aliens affected.

#### STEVENSON

Stevenson Sept. 17 said: "We cannot convince the world that we are a land of freedom and equality so long as our statute books are defaced by inequitable and discriminatory immigration laws. A man's character and ability, not the accident of his national origin, should determine his qualifications for citizenship."

In a speech Oct. 2, he said: "Today thousands of persons, many of them refugees from Communist tyranny, look to America as a place where they might begin a new life of freedom. To them, America now turns a suspicious and unwelcoming face. To change this face, to erase the bigotry and discrimination from our immigration laws is one of the urgent duties that faces the new America."

# 1956 Campaign Statements

## REPUBLICANS

These are the major statements and speeches of Republican campaigners for the week ending Oct. 31:

### DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 26 speech by President Eisenhower at New York City:

We have been hearing the complaining chant of a chorus of apparently tireless partisan orators. This chorus sings a strange sad song -- about a weak and fearful America. This monotonous music has some curious discords. And its latest lament is that your present leadership has "no new ideas." To begin with, I would say: In 1953 we found a number of old ideas for whose energetic application the American people had waited all too long.

It is undoubtedly an old idea to reduce Federal spending and lower Federal taxes. But someone had to do it. It is an old idea to reduce unemployment. But it has taken today's prosperity -- this last September -- to reduce the unemployment rate to a level lower than that of any peacetime September in the opposition's 20 years of rule.

And -- all action aside -- how true is it that the opposition enjoys some monopoly on the invention of new ideas? Was it they -- or we -- who inspired and launched the greatest highway-building program in our history? Was it they -- or we -- who proposed the program of atoms for peace? Was it they -- or we -- who conceived our boldest proposal for disarmament -- the open-skies offer of mutual air inspection? Was it they -- or we -- who went to Panama for the first conference of chiefs of state in inter-American history?

Now, my friends, though my political experience is admittedly limited, I find nothing new even in their techniques for confusing public debate. Thus: They charge our government with indifference to the welfare of labor -- but they are careful not to mention that labor's share of our national income stands today at its highest point in 20 years. They charge your government with excessive concern for big corporations -- but they are careful not to mention that corporate profits after taxes since 1953 have represented a sharply lower share of our national income than in the seven postwar years of their political rule.

### QUEST FOR PEACE

Now, we turn to matters more serious, indeed the gravest issue before us: Our quest for peace. There is, I fear, nothing amusing when the opposition's political techniques are extended to discussion of world affairs.

They urge a vigorous and realistic policy toward the Communist empire -- and they suggest that we begin, in our relations with the Soviet Union, by trusting our national safety to agreements that have no effective safeguards and no controls.

They urge a bold American defense of freedom -- and they urge us to try achieving this by starting to plan an end to our military draft.

I respond to such propositions with one firm belief. There is no political campaign that justifies the declaration of a moratorium on common sense. I, as your President, cannot and will not tell you that our quest of peace will be simple, or its rewards swift. This quest may, in fact, cost as much -- in labor and in sacrifice.

And I do not doubt the will and the ability of America to meet this mighty responsibility with a memorable response. But that response requires, most clearly, strength. For a weak nation can bring neither hope to its own people nor help to its friends. It can only beg mercy of its enemies.

We need our military draft -- for the safety of our nation. We cannot throw the full future military burden upon veterans who have already earned their nation's gratitude -- nor can we urge our

allies to shoulder arms -- while we throw ours to the ground. We need -- no less -- the most advanced military weapons. And these must be proven to be the best in the world. We need also to re-iterate -- as we constantly do -- America's instant readiness to lay aside all nuclear weapons -- including this testing -- when, but only when, we have sure safeguards that others will do the same.

The compelling challenge before the world is not the matter of testing nuclear weapons -- but of making impossible their use in any nuclear war. It is to this far greater purpose that all efforts of your government have steadfastly been dedicated -- through months and years of tireless negotiation, with both firm friend and potential foe.

In this mission of peace, we shall never rest -- nor ever retreat. For I continue hopefully to believe that all nations can together find the road leading toward -- not the illusion -- but the reality of disarmament.

My fellow citizens, even as we have prospered and grown strong, yet we know that this is not enough. Man does not live by might alone. Nor are we content with pleasing contrasts between today and yesterday. We are concerned with the conquest of tomorrow. We seek -- first -- the assuring of justice and dignity in our own society. How do we propose to seek it?

### CONTINUE PROSPERITY

1. We shall continue economic and fiscal policies that have helped generate our present prosperity. Soon there will be 70 million jobs for our people marking another milestone in our growth.

2. We shall continue the fostering of industrial peace, allowing both labor and production to reach new frontiers of progress.

3. We shall press forward with constructive farm programs. Already those in force are removing the towering shadow of farm surpluses from our economic scene.

4. We shall continue expanding and improving all our programs for the benefit of the sick, the aged, and the disabled.

5. We shall -- for the youth to whom the future belongs -- build the schools they need -- and this means speeding up the five-year program rejected by the last Congress, and getting the job done in four years.

6. We shall -- with the next Congress -- advance new programs to make more secure the future of our small businesses, for their future prospering is vital to our free economy.

7. We shall continue to foster the strength and initiative of state and local government -- vital to the life of our constitutional system.

8. We shall continue -- in all government affairs -- to insist upon standards of the highest integrity and devotion to duty -- knowing that government employment is not a right, but a privilege.

9. We shall -- with intelligence and sympathetic understanding -- do all in our power to make more secure, for all citizens, their civil rights. And we shall seek to assure women everywhere in our land equality of rights.

10. We shall vigorously lead the way to a review and revision of our immigration laws -- to serve our own national interest, to promote understanding in the world and to give new validity to America's role of leadership. For it is alien to the very spirit of America that any man be judged by place of birth or accent of speech.

All this is the work that we must -- and shall -- advance in the next four years. And as we act with vigor and purpose in our own nation -- so shall we do in the wide world. We shall encourage, more persistently than ever, wider markets and rising living standards for all nations. We shall go on steadfastly seeking safe and sound means for disarmament -- so that history can never say that this generation left humanity to be crucified upon a cross of iron.

And we shall seek escape from no toil -- nor any sacrifice -- that freedom demands of us. For we know that a people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both. Thus will our

## Campaign Statements - 2

spirit rule and direct our might. And thus may we go on building this America of justice and strength, in a world of peace and law.

### Quest For Peace

Following is a partial text of a speech prepared for delivery by Mr. Eisenhower Oct. 29 at Miami, Fla.:

The policy of this Administration -- foreign and domestic -- is the concrete and factual expression of the pledges I made you four years ago:

I pledged: that we would build a sound security system for America and work tirelessly for freedom among men and for peace with justice in the world. And we have.

I promised to give you an executive branch of your government of integrity and dignity made up of people of unimpeachable character and ability. We have done so.

I pledged: that we would fight waste in government, balance the budget, cut taxes and do a better job at the same time. And we have. By fighting waste in government, we cut \$10,000,000,000 from the budget that was handed to us by the prior administration. We gave to the American people the largest tax cut in our whole history -- \$7,000,000,000 and more. And we have a balanced budget, and even made a small payment on our national debt.

I pledged: that we would make the federal government once again what the founding fathers intended it to be and what a majority of Americans have always wanted it to be: a partner of the states and a servant of the people. And we have.

Four years ago I pledged that as President of all the people, I would use every proper influence of my office to promote for all citizens that equality before the law and of opportunity visualized by our founding fathers. I promised further to do this with the conviction that progress toward equality had to be achieved finally in the hearts of men rather than in legislative halls. I urged then, as I urge now, the handling of this question, to the greatest possible extent, on a local and state basis. I believed then, as I believe now, that there must be intelligent understanding of the human factors and emotions involved if we are to make steady progress in the matter rather than simply to make political promises never intended to be kept. We have tried to bring reason, good sense and good judgment to the performance of clear duty in this matter. We have earnestly tried to keep it from becoming a partisan matter, for we are talking here, not about a political issue, but about justice for Americans.

### ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The United States cannot exist as an island of prosperity in a world of poverty. For that reason, the growing economic strength of other free nations, and particularly of those countries bound in common purpose with us within the friendly framework of NATO, is a matter of deep satisfaction. That we have had some part in bringing it to pass makes this economic progress even more gratifying.

Nothing has been more heartening than the recent announcement of two new proposals that would advance further the economic integration of Europe. The first is the concept that six Western European countries might establish a common market in which all internal barriers to trade would be completely eliminated, as they are within the United States. The second is the challenging idea that, thereafter, Great Britain, in association with other countries on the European continent might gradually, over a period of years, establish a free trade area around the common market.

Our world of friends is larger than Europe, of course. To the south of us lives a vast continent with tens of millions of peoples, our physical and spiritual neighbors. From the first days of this Administration, we have been devoted to strengthening our ties with them; to opening up new avenues of trade between us and them; to establishing a truly hemispheric partnership based on mutual understanding and genuine friendship. A partnership between North America and Latin America can be mutually profitable beyond any similar partnership in the world. In building it, I firmly believe, more has been accomplished in the past four years than in the previous twenty.

The meeting at Panama, last summer, was not the culmination of our effort. Rather, it was a milestone on the road of

accomplishment. There with the Presidents or Presidents-elect of eighteen other American republics, I discussed mutual problems and mutual purposes in frank and friendly terms. All of us there recognized that every increase in hemispheric solidarity helps increase hemispheric security and hemispheric prosperity.

Your Administration intends to continue and to amplify the search for better ways to expand trade and travel between the Americas, to increase the exchange of students and of cultural knowledge, to strengthen all the ties that join us as a hemispheric family.

Even as we speak this day of our hopes and strivings for peace and justice in the world, we know that there persists real and present danger to that peace. This danger rises in various places; none more critical at this moment than at the ancient crossroads of the world, the Middle East, where whole civilizations meet. Ancient animosities flare anew. Fears and hatreds deeply divide nations -- with all of whom America would be, hopes and seeks to be, a friend.

In such a critical situation we cannot expect to erase suddenly the bitter heritage of the ages. We can -- we must -- and shall -- go on striving to do all in our power to heal old wounds, rather than to let them reopen -- into bloodshed. We can -- and we do -- use the full moral power of America to direct the purposes of all nations away from conflict -- and toward concord. And we are able to do this because all the world knows that we have no national ambition adversely affecting any other. We covet no land nor authority over others. We want only to serve the cause of a just peace for all people.

We shall press our search for peace from a position of strength -- spiritual, intellectual, economic, military strength. We shall take no step for the winning of a transitory acclaim that might reduce by one iota the security of this Republic. Constructive and prudent that will advance the cause of a just, lasting, international peace. In this quest -- in this greatest quest of mankind -- in this great crusade, I seek your help -- the help of every single American in the land.

### Domestic Economy

Following is a partial text of a speech prepared for delivery by Mr. Eisenhower Oct. 29 at Jacksonville, Fla.:

I want to talk to you today a little bit about the problem of making a living.

We are very, very grateful for the record of prosperity that these past four years has brought us. Now the opposition not only says this is a false prosperity, they even say it doesn't exist. Just exactly how they expect to make you believe it, I have never been sure, but they have done many things that are puzzling to me. In 1952 you voted very decisively -- very emphatically -- for a change. Now let's see what difference there has been. Now in Washington there is a very big difference. First, from Washington, the mess has disappeared. Only the highest standards -- not only of law but of ethics -- are tolerated in the executive branch of the federal government; and that is, cleaning up the mess.

Instead of running in the red, your government is running in the black. Instead of higher taxes, you have lower taxes. Instead of indifference, neglect and waste, you have honest, efficient government. Instead of the black depression our opponents confidently predicted in 1952, if you were foolish enough to elect any Administration except theirs -- we have created -- you have created -- the greatest prosperity in all history.

Now there's a very large difference in our beliefs. By their past deeds, or their words, the opposition seems to believe that centralized paternalistic government is necessary in this country. They minimize the function of the state government and they seem to think that the ordinary citizen knows how to make a living only if they tell him how. They seem to think that inflation -- the inflation that robs our pocketbooks -- is not really so bad. They claim to have a very great concern for those who are living on social security payments -- those people who are living on pensions or upon their bonds.

Now, my friends, if you pay social security payments today from your pay rolls, and they are paid off 20 years from now in 20-cent dollars, you are the sufferers -- not the rich, not the big corporations; you, the people that live on that kind of fixed income.



So, let's not have any of this business of inflation, unless we are concerned only with the big man and not the so-called "little men."

And finally, they seem to think that fiscal integrity is not nearly so important to a nation as you know it is in your own family. How they get this idea, I am not sure -- but they say, I guess you can print dollars; and again we have inflation.

We believe that the strength of a nation is in its people. We believe that it is people that count. It is your desire to work -- to venture -- to earn more -- to own more -- to better your position, your family, your community. That is what makes America tick. That is what brings our prosperity. What the government can do is to create the climate in which you can realize and fulfill your ambitions. The government cannot make you prosperous and so, because you have had this government that trusts you, and therefore you are trusting them, giving you the confidence to go ahead, you have created an economy that is now racing forward at a level of above four hundred billion dollars a year. And that is without the help -- the tragic help -- of a war.

In 1930 we had peace, but no prosperity. In the next decade -- the Forties -- we had a great deal of prosperity but we had no peace. Now we have both -- the creation of you -- working with your government. So today we have more than 66,000,000 Americans gainfully employed, and only today -- since I started on this trip from Washington -- I have received information soon to be released in detail, that employment for the month of October is up over last month, and up a million over October of last year. That, my friends, makes it the biggest October in our entire history.

And on top of that let us compare it for just one moment with October of 1952. There are today 4,300,000 more jobs with people gainfully employed in them than there were four years ago. Real wages are at an all-time high. And by real wages I mean after you have paid your taxes, after you have paid for any rise in the living costs -- your real wages are still up 8.5 percent. And there is certainly nothing false about that kind of prosperity. You are not on a treadmill, with the cost of living going up just as fast as wage increases -- as they used to do. Now you make the gain.

#### 'PEOPLE'S PROSPERITY'

Never before in all history have our working men and women enjoyed -- all at the same time -- increasing wages and increasing income-tax returns, and such a remarkably stable cost of living. So there is a story, my friends -- more production, more jobs, more income -- a prosperity never before so great, never before so widely shared. This makes it truly a people's prosperity. Now this prosperity has been achieved by you, working in a favorable climate, fostered by your Administration.

Now, what did we do to bring this about? Well, we promised to end the Korean war. And we did. We promised to free the economy of stifling controls and wages and prices. And we did. And do you remember the dire predictions when we removed controls in 1953? The so-called economists of the opposition predicted great runaway inflation, to be followed by depression, with all America practically out of work.

And then we promised to balance the budget. And we did that. And paid something on our debts. And, my friends, when a national debt has reached the astounding total of \$275,000,000,000, to pay a little bit on the debt looks like it is a very, very wise thing to do. And when we cut taxes in 1954 -- as we promised to do -- we cut taxes so that it benefited every man, woman and child in the United States -- two thirds of that \$7,000,000,000 tax cut going directly to individuals.

And we promised integrity and thrift and efficiency in government. And we delivered on that promise. We promised to take the government out of competition with private business. We have made great strides in doing so, with special benefit to small business.

Now we promised also to lift from our working men and women some of the anxieties of life. We are proud of the expansion of social security benefits, of broadening unemployment insurance, of strengthened health programs and many other things done to provide more security and care for the old, the infirm, or the unemployed. Government can have and has had a heart -- as well as a head.

We can -- and there are programs afoot, to increase our prosperity, particularly to extend it to those who are not yet sharing

fully in it. Certain areas, and particularly parts of our farm industry have been particularly affected, and the programs devised by your government are carrying the fair share of that prosperity to those areas.

Then there are other sections of chronic unemployment. This is due to the changes in our economic scene. For example, in the coal industry, as coal falls off in use, something replaces it, there results unemployment. In the shifting of industries from North to South or East to West, unemployment comes about. There are broad programs now afoot to make certain that these difficulties are overcome. And without the help of the government, people can be fully employed again.

Low-income families, whether they be in the city or on the farm or whether it be clearing of slums and helping in soil conservation, we are attacking all of these problems, with the help of the people affected themselves.

What kind of America are we headed for? What kind of America are we and our children to have? Now the answer: Most of it is up to you -- and to millions of Americans like you over this land. You have a choice. You can take a chance with your children's future. You can go back to the leadership and the program you turned down in 1952. Or, you can continue the crusade we launched four years ago: the building of an America that is secure and peaceful -- an America of unmatched prosperity and opportunity -- an America realizing the golden age of promise.

It can be an America with an annual production approaching the \$600,000,000,000 mark in another 10 years. It can be an America rising to fill new employment at a rate of one million jobs a year, a total of more than 70,000,000 jobs four years hence -- an America whose spreading prosperity will mightily support our efforts to wipe out the last vestiges of poverty and discrimination. It can be America living at peace with itself, dedicated to the ideals of our founding documents -- opportunities -- justice -- equality before the law. It can be an America leading the search for a just and lasting peace in the world and, with God's help, succeeding.

#### SUSTAIN PEACE

And because peace is very intimately tied up with this love of liberty, it is essential that America not only foster and sustain this yearning for liberty in our own nation, but that we do it elsewhere. A free nation does not seek war, because the decisions in a free nation are made by the people that fight wars. So it is absolutely to our advantage and in our own interests that we foster this yearning and respect for liberty wherever it appears in the world.

Now, to serve liberty -- to serve people -- America must be strong, strong in our hearts, in our dedication to ideals, strong in our support of the political concepts handed down to us by our forefathers. We must have this great economic strength growing every day -- and continuing to grow. And we must have military strength.

So I say, at this particular state of the world's history, where we see a once proud people being trampled down by marching regiments, this is no time to stop the draft -- this is no time to stop perfecting our weapons. And remember, my friends, I don't say and I do not believe we should be seeking to make their strength a more destructive weapon. Science is now directed to, how do we use this new science to protect ourselves, to make defense weapons, to make them small and clean and make them more suitable for military objectives instead of civilian cities.

And so I say, let us make every possible agreement we can to reduce the risks in the world, but let us do it with the proper safeguards. But finally, every phase of our national effort -- our economy -- our prosperity -- our opportunities for education -- everything that we want -- depends upon progress in this -- for people. We must move ever forward. We must not let anything tire us. We must never let anything wear out our patience -- no matter how serious the problem. We must simply say, "Then we work the harder."

We must reach with others where you and I as well as potential opponents can have confidence that agreements are sound, and we can live with, devoting our efforts and our sweat and our labor to peace -- not to war. And this means that as we make a life -- as we make this living that we work for day to day, we will also work out a way of life for our nation, and, with God's help, for the world.

## DEMOCRATS

These are the major statements and speeches of Democratic campaigners for the week ending Oct. 31:

### ADLAI STEVENSON

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 24 speech by Stevenson before a businessmen's luncheon at New York City:

I am particularly glad to speak to this audience of New York business men, for it permits me to say something about the relation of the Democratic party to business which I have been wanting to say for a long time. The Republican party has a well-established reputation as the party of business. I understand that the Democratic party does not have quite this reputation. In fact, some business men are even said to regard it as anti-business!

I suggest to you that both the reputation of the Republican party and the reputation of the Democratic party are undeserved. Certainly if we Democrats don't like business, we exhibit our dislike in a curious way. When the Democrats came into office in 1933 after a dozen years of Republican rule, the American business was flat on its back. When the Democrats left office in 1953, the American business system was in more robust health than ever before in history.

America has been a country which has grown phenomenally from its moment of birth. But never in the entire history of our rapidly expanding nation has there been such a 20-year period of sustained economic growth. In these 20 years, the gross national product of our country -- the total of all the goods and services our nation produced -- rose nearly 700 percent. Everyone -- business, workers, farmers, professional people -- benefited.

I have heard the achievement of the New Deal defined in a number of ways. But I think that two things can be said about that era of national renovation which are especially relevant today. One is that the New Deal made America safe for capitalism. The other is that it made capitalism safe for America -- and safe especially for the responsible business man.

What was ruining capitalism -- and precipitated deep national misgivings -- was the irresponsible minority in the business community, those people who supposed that anything was justified so long as it put another fast buck into their own pockets. It was these men who established sweatshops -- and forced their competitors to compete in terms of cutting wages of labor rather than in terms of improving quality for customers. It was these men who palmed off phony securities on a gullible public -- and forced their competitors to compete in terms of extravagant promotion rather than in terms of useful investment.

#### SET UP GROUND RULES

For the sake of the decent employers of the country, it was necessary to establish ground rules so that the responsible businessman would no longer be penalized because he would not cheat those who bought from him or those who worked for him. The great adventure of the Thirties was this establishment of ground rules in our economy -- and certainly a great hero of that adventure was one of the best friends American businessmen ever had, and, paradoxically, a man cordially disliked by many businessmen, Franklin Roosevelt.

During those years, a Democratic Administration abolished the sweatshop. It abolished child labor. It ended the savagery of competition among employers as to which could work labor the hardest and pay it the least. A Democratic Administration similarly brought decency and stability into the securities market. It outlawed falsehood and deception in the investment world. It established new rules for the issuance of stocks and bonds. It liberated the responsible promoter and the responsible broker from the competition of the charlatan and the cheat.

What the Democrats did was to show that the methods and aspirations of business could still produce profits in a society which recognized the obligations a modern state has to its citizens. And the success of the New Deal in advancing the cause of free enterprise is shown by the pay-off -- by the vast growth of business and the vast increase in national abundance in the years of Democratic rule.

This, of course, is all in the past. But it bears upon the present, and the future. For government and business will continue to be mixed up together in the common task of keeping the American economy strong and growing. Indeed, the whole history of American progress has been a history of constant government-business interaction -- at its best, a creative interaction which has advanced the welfare of the whole nation. I believe that the need for this interaction -- for this balanced and reciprocal cooperation -- has never been greater than it is today. For our society is in a state of transition. We have moved out of the bleak past, when our problem was scarcity and our task the hard one of distributing too few goods among too many people. We are finally entering that age of abundance, of which we have dreamed so long.

Our national output is already reaching heights which would stagger the most starry-eyed prophets of a generation back. On the horizon are a number of new developments which will multiply our future productive capacity even more: the whole process of automation, harnessing to production the fantastic developments of modern electronics; the miracle of atomic power; the striking new advances in industrial and agricultural chemistry; and so much else, some of it still in the minds of our inventors, our scientists and our business leaders.

In the end, we will accomplish a second industrial revolution which will add far more to the productive power of the world than the original industrial revolution. And let us not deceive ourselves: just as an era of scarcity created one set of values and institutions, so an era of abundance will create new values and new institutions. Too much of our present controversy is conducted in an idiom which is rapidly becoming obsolete. We must rethink our economic policy in terms of the technological revolution -- just as we have to rethink our defense policy in terms of the weapons revolution. The task ahead is to take full advantage of the technological revolution, while still preserving those sources of the creativity of American life -- the free individual, making his own way in life; the family farm; the family firm; the small town; the small college; the small enterprise of any sort. This task will require imagination and ideas of social policy to match the imagination and ideas in our business offices and our research laboratories. It will call on the cooperation of all elements in our society -- the business community, labor, agriculture, the consumer and the government.

#### CANNOT MEET CHALLENGE

Now, I do not believe that the Eisenhower Administration can meet the challenge of this new age. One reason it cannot do so is that it does not represent and cannot command the confidence -- of all the groups in our diverse society. For this job we require a balanced government -- and our government is badly out of balance today. The American tradition must be against government by any single interest, whether business or labor or agriculture. In particular, government in which big business has disproportionate representation cannot be expected to do what is necessary to control the march of bigness in America.

Another reason why the Eisenhower Administration cannot meet the challenge of the new America is that it lacks imagination and recoils from new ideas. Neither in foreign nor in domestic policy has it had any new ideas. In both fields, it has lived on its somewhat garbled memory of what previous Democratic Administrations had thought and done. It has been well said that a new Republican idea is a Democratic idea at its 25th reunion. Indeed, we are given to understand that the Republican achievement in finally accepting the main outlines of the New Deal should be taken as a great intellectual and philosophical triumph. I can only say that an Administration which has no ideas -- which exudes self-satisfaction and complacency with things as they are, which distrusts change and fears leadership -- is not perhaps the best Administration to deal with the problems of a turbulent and rapidly changing world.

There is one more reason why the Eisenhower Administration can't meet the challenge of America's economic future. That is because its sights are too narrow; its concern is directed only at those activities which pay off in the cash ledger. The Republicans don't like to spend money in such fields as education, health, welfare and the conservation of natural resources. They drag their feet on every proposal to improve our school system, our system



of medical care, our system of social insurance, our public domain and so on.

But I say that money spent to improve the education, health and welfare of American citizens and to develop the natural resources of the country is not money for which there is no return; it is not money wasted. It is money invested in the improvement of America -- money which will repay itself many times in developing a population which can produce more, purchase more and plan more for new expansion in the future.

It is no accident that the unprecedented economic gains of the last generation took place in a period of unprecedented enlargement in the government's social services. Everything our society can do to improve the intelligence and energy of its members contributes to the wealth of the nation and the productivity of the economy.

Our Republican friends recoil from this challenge of the future even as they recoiled from the challenges of the past from which they have profited so handsomely. The proof lies in the failure to attack our deficiencies in schools, health, care for older citizens, slums, distressed areas, etc. It lies in the troubled condition of so many small businesses. It lies in the exposure of our natural resources to private exploitation and waste. When progress has been made it has been grudging and late, mostly in response to the approach of an election and to Democratic prodding.

And, if I may say so to this audience, it lies especially in the precarious state of small business -- squeezed by the growing giants, buffeted by the merger movement, strangled by high interest rates and the difficulty of getting capital and credit. Under the Republicans, the rate of small business failures has reached its highest level in fifteen years. American business -- and America itself -- cannot afford to lose this unique source of inventiveness and enterprise. We Democrats conceive of America as the land of opportunity. When opportunity vanishes, America will suffer a fundamental change. And opportunity means opportunity for all. We reject the idea of an America in which everyone is on the payroll of a few giant corporations.

#### BIG, BIGGER

The fact is that the Republicans, taking over the country at a high point of economic activity, have done nothing for such vital groups in the population as small business men and farmers -- and have done less than nothing to prepare for the difficult problems of the future. The Eisenhower Administration seems to have confused genuine friendship for business with snuggling intimacy toward a few of its giants. And, meanwhile, the big have gotten bigger and the small are disappearing.

I would ask businessmen to consider soberly whether the Democratic party has not served the true interests of business far better this century than the weary standpatism of the Republicans -- and whether Democratic foresight and energy are not likely to be better for business in the long run.

### Springfield Farm Speech

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 25 speech by Stevenson at Springfield, Ill.:

Sometimes I wonder, in all honesty, how much political oratory really clarifies things. And yet this year's debate on farm policy has cleared up a lot of things. Whether they intended it or not, the Republican orators including the President have made the Republican position on agriculture crystal clear. Farmers now know exactly where the candidates of both parties stand.

Tonight I want to summarize what this record shows, and I'm not going to mince any words about it. The first lesson is that there is no connection between what a Republican candidate says in an election year campaign about it if he gets elected.

Every farmer remembers the promises Candidate Eisenhower made in 1952 at Kasson, Minnesota, and at Brookings, South Dakota, and at a dozen other places: That "the Republican party is pledged to the sustaining of 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent, with the guarantees in the price support at 90 percent." Did President Eisenhower keep those promises? He did not.

At Peoria, four years later, the President told his Republican audience that what he meant at Kasson was that farmers should get their parity in the market place. If that means anything it means they should get parity without price supports. And if that is what Mr. Eisenhower meant, why didn't he say so four years ago? He didn't say so because he knew that any such statement would have cost him votes.

Let me cite another case. Four years ago, as now, farmers were worried about hog prices. And four years ago Candidate Eisenhower made another of his clear promises. "We will find a way," he said, "to protect the prices of producers of perishable products." Early this year, when hog prices were at \$10.90 or 52 percent of parity, the President was asked about supporting the price of hogs. Did he "find a way?" No. Supporting the price of hogs would, he said, be dangerous -- and that was the end of it.

Now the second lesson: In 1952 the Republican candidate pretended for campaign purposes to adopt the Democratic farm policies. This time they have dropped this cynical pretense. They're in favor of doing just as little about the farm problem as they possibly can.

The President has spoken scornfully and often of what he called in Peoria "the old price-depressing Democratic farm programs." These are the programs which rescued the farmer from the worst depression he has ever known and which helped him to enjoy the most prosperous years he has ever had. Farmers know what these programs did for them. And if Mr. Eisenhower did not know he should have found out by now. But I am willing to concede that American agriculture is one of a number of things he knew very little about when he resigned an appointment from President Truman and flew back from France to run for President in 1952.

In Peoria the President also attacked what he called "the synthetic farmers behind Washington desks" and he went on to say that "farming looks mighty easy when your plow is a pencil and you're a thousand miles from the cornfield." Well, like it or not, it takes good, devoted public servants with pencils to help make a farm program work. When the President attacks these men he attacks the whole idea of a farm program. And while I am at it let me point out that farmer-elected committees used to run the Democratic program and that these farmers were replaced by paid Republican appointees. It now takes 6,400 more men to run the ineffective Republican Department of Agriculture than it used to take to run the effective Democratic programs.

#### FARM POLITICS

Mr. Benson has told us repeatedly that the Democratic farm program was socialistic and that his chosen mission is to save the American farmer from socialism. Well, the Democratic mission is to save the American farmer from going broke. And it says a lot that in this Administration what's good for General Motors is good, but what's good for American farmers is socialism.

Third: We have learned during this campaign that in spite of the President's virtuous disclaimers, the Republicans are still playing election-year politics with the farmer for all its worth.

Again and again the President has said, with a great show of self-righteousness, that the farm problem is something dreamed up by the "politicians" -- he gets very indignant when he uses that word -- to win votes. If the President is against playing politics, ask him what he was doing four years ago at Kasson, Minnesota.

And I ask him what he was doing last spring when after vetoing the Democratic farm bill, he then raised support prices? What was he doing when he said firm price supports at 90 percent of parity were uneconomic and immoral and would enslave the farmer and then promptly raised supports on basic crops this year to 86 percent of parity in order to win votes? Does the President think that the difference between immorality and morality, slavery and freedom is only 4 percent? And I would like to know if he intends to reduce those supports, as he can, right after the election.

Today's loose administration of the soil bank program and the frantic effort to get the checks to the farmers on any terms before the election is more of the farm politics he so righteously denounces, and everyone of us knows it. What is being done is not designed to conserve soil and it's not conserving soil. It's destined to conserve Republicans in office -- and it's not going to do that either. There are more politics in the emergency purchase of

turkeys, eggs and hamburgers and lard to keep prices stable until the election.

Surely, "politics" is a charitable description of what is really involved when the President tells the country, as he did at Peoria, that his Administration has started to reduce the farm surpluses it "inherited." At the end of the last crop year the government investment in surpluses was almost six times as great as at the end of 1952, when the Republicans took over.

On the 31st of this August the government had on hand or under loan two and a half times as much corn, 15 times as much cotton, 132 times as much rice, two and one-fourth times as much oats and nearly eight times as much barley as when the Eisenhower Administration took over in January, 1953. Who does the President think he is fooling when he says that they have started to reduce the inherited surpluses?

The President has said the Democratic proposals will be too costly. He does not say that during this fiscal year we will be paying \$5,700,000 for an ineffective program. This is three and a half times as much as the average cost of a program that worked during the last three Democratic fiscal years.

President Eisenhower has asked farmers to remember how things were four years ago when the Eisenhower-Benson Program began. With this suggestion I agree. Net farm income was then \$15,100,000,000; this year it will be \$11,500,000,000. None of us objects to the partisanship of policies. But duplicity and hypocrisy to the extent it has been carried by the Eisenhower Administration is not partisanship, it is contempt. And, if anything, it is worse in foreign affairs than in agriculture.

I come to number four in my list. We have learned in this campaign that the Republicans are still at their old game of setting city against country. They have told city people how well the farmers are doing and that an adequate farm program would mean higher living costs.

Why don't they tell the whole truth? Why don't they tell the housewife that while her food prices have been going up under this Administration farm prices have been falling. Why don't they admit, in all honesty, that in July of this year, when consumer prices went to their all-time peak, farm prices took another sharp drop.

#### CITY AGAINST COUNTRY

I want to give you one more example of how the President seeks to set city against country. The other night in Seattle the President attacked the Democratic party for what he called "the big straddle." Here is what he said. "They (meaning the Democrats) bravely denounce inflation in the cities -- and they go to the countryside with their extravagant promises of the loose credit that makes for inflation." Those were the President's words.

No one could be more concerned than I am about the way prices are going up. The nonsense the President has been talking about how he stabilized the dollar is dangerous camouflage of the fact that this Administration's tight money policy is today hurting us in this country and hurting us seriously.

The credit squeeze of the Eisenhower Administration does not hurt General Motors and the other big companies. And it never will. Their credit is good; they can always borrow if they have to. But the farmer and the small business man are at the end of the line when it comes to getting credit.

As a matter of fact only a few days after his Peoria speech in which he accused us of favoring liberal credit for the farmer, the President himself had a change of heart -- or maybe it was a lapse of memory -- or could it have been some more of those farm politics he condemns? At all events he went up to Minneapolis and boasted that his Administration had put into effect "the most liberal farm credit program in history."

That, too, is wrong. The most liberal farm credit program we ever had was the one which bailed the farmers out of the mess that was left after twelve Republican years of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover -- the last time the Republicans were in Washington.

Mr. Eisenhower is, I am sure, a well meaning man. But indifference and ignorance can be as damaging as ill will. If the President doesn't realize the hardship his policies are causing -- if he thinks farmers are doing well -- if he thinks that farmers have a "liberal" supply of credit -- then he just doesn't know what's going on.

## Economic Policy Statement

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 28 statement by Stevenson on his economic policy:

I am trying in this series of papers on the New America to broaden our vision of the humane and creative future that lies within our grasp.

There is one question, however, that I want to ask and to answer myself, and that the American people often and rightly ask, too. That plain and realistic question is this: Where is the money coming from? The answer to this is that the money for our programs of welfare will come from our own economic growth as a nation. As our national product increases, our tax revenues will rise. Indeed, at present tax rates, the revenues can be expected to increase much more than the cost of the programs I have proposed.

It is economical to avoid waste and to examine every proposal with a careful, realistic eye as to its real merit and its financing. It is not economical to let needed public services deteriorate, to skimp on needed programs of general welfare, to be niggardly with the needs of future generations. For what, after all, is economy? It is not simply the accumulation of great unused storehouses of wealth. It is the wise use of that wealth, without waste, and with careful attention to the future's needs; it is the use of what we have to serve human living in the wisest way.

As the size and complexity of our society increases, the role of government activity must not be allowed to decline -- as it has -- up to the election year, under President Eisenhower. It is not economical to neglect our public needs, to postpone confronting them, or to try to buy the needed public services in a bargain basement.

The question, "Where is the money coming from?" can be asked from two points of view. The first and most fundamental question is: "Where will the American people find the productive capacity -- the labor, land, plants and equipment, and natural resources -- needed for these programs?" The second question is: "How will the federal government raise the revenues these programs require?"

#### INCREASING PRODUCTION

And the answer to the first question is found in the great and constantly increasing productive capacity of the United States. If full employment is maintained -- and we are committed by the Employment Act of 1946 to maintain it -- then our national production should grow at the rate of at least three percent a year and our national product should now increase by at least \$15,000,000,000 a year.

The greatest resource for maintaining that rate of growth, of course, is the energy of human beings, and we're going to have more and more of that. The population of our country is growing at a rate that only a few years ago seemed impossible. This means a great and continuing increase in our labor force, and therefore in our product.

The new plant and machinery made possible by our savings, and the steady advance in our efficiency and our technology, also will contribute to the continuing growth of our national product. We now have a national product of over \$400,000,000,000. By 1960, we should have a product of \$450,000,000,000-\$500,000,000,000. In another decade -- measuring in dollars of the same purchasing power -- we can expect our annual production to reach \$550,000,000,000-\$600,000,000,000. This means we will have \$150,000,000,000-\$200,000,000,000 worth of additional goods and services. To make the most of the opportunity this new bounty will provide, we must divide it wisely between what we use as private consumers, what we reserve for private investment, and what we devote to governmental services. On this score, the Eisenhower Administration has made an unwise division; it has made the wrong choice. It curtailed our federal programs in the vital fields of education, natural resources and technical and economic aid. Not until the 1956 election stared them in the face did the Republicans begin to restore some of the programs to meet pressing human needs. Yet, in 1955, they were moved to propose a \$100,000,000,000 highway program. One is tempted to contrast their eagerness to spend excessive sums on highways, and their reluctance to spend on schools, I also favor a substantial road program, but there must be balance.

While private consumption was rising by \$40,000,000,000, the Republicans were cutting expenditures for important government services. We can see the short-sightedness of such a policy when we consider that in the long run the outlays for services such as health, education, and slum clearance raise our national income far more than they cost.

The New America programs that I have proposed would increase the working potential of the older citizens, reduce the time lost because of illness, increase the adequacy of our educational system, provide for the full development of natural resources, and they will far more than pay for themselves in the long run.

The programs which I propose might cost about \$3,000,000,000 in two or three years and rise to three times that amount in a decade, a period in which our national product is expected to rise by \$150,000,000,000-\$200,000,000,000. In other words, I am suggesting that we devote roughly 5 percent of our prospective gains in national output to these essential national programs. We can afford to do this and at the same time spend what we must for our military security, for the defense of the free world, and for contributions to the economic health and progress of the underdeveloped countries of the world. If we succeed in achieving the increase in national product of which we have shown we are capable, we can do all that I have proposed, and still enjoy most of the fruits of our economic growth in the form of increased private consumption.

Our second question is, how will the government finance this program? Seen in the perspective of an expanding economy, the answer is clear: our existing taxes will yield all the revenue needed, and leave an ample margin for tax reduction.

The anticipated increases in national output will increase the tax revenues of the federal government without changes in tax rates or structure. As what we all earn increases, what the government receives increases. If tax rates are kept at present levels, federal tax revenues should increase from their present level of over \$70,000,000,000 to \$100,000,000,000-\$110,000,000,000 by 1965-66. This increase of \$30,000,000,000-\$40,000,000,000 in federal taxes would be three-quarter times what is needed to finance the national investments that I have proposed. Moreover, some of the new programs will be financed on a contributory basis, and will, thus, provide for additional revenue.

Of course, we cannot count on all the increased revenue for new programs; some of it will be absorbed by the added cost of existing programs of federal, state and local governments. But nevertheless, in the absence of a major war, there is every reason to believe that we not only can meet the claims of these programs out of increased tax revenues that respond automatically to higher incomes, but even reduce tax rates.

#### KEEP STABLE ECONOMY

Our budget policy for the future, however, must not be looked at in isolation from general economic conditions. We have to use the government's power to tax as a balance wheel to help keep a stable economy.

When economic activity is high and resources are fully employed, the budget of the government should be balanced, and a surplus may even be called for. Unless we have such a policy we will have inflation.

But when capacity to produce goods rises faster than the market can absorb them, the opposite government policy is called for. A reduction in taxes can offset the adverse effects of inadequate buying, and head off threatened declines of output. In a period of threatened recession we should cut taxes, even though this course may involve temporary budget deficits. When private spending declines, in order to keep people employed, we may need not only tax cuts but also an increase in our programs for schools, hospitals, roads and the like. Government can never again allow the human waste of a depression.

The Eisenhower Administration has not shared these views. Obsessed with the idea that the budget must be balanced at all cost, and at all times, and eager for political tax reductions, it has made the attempt to reduce the budget the center of government policy. This has been largely at the expense of our national security and other necessary government services, and has also made us fail to weave government tax and spending policy into the fabric of the private economy.

The same ideas have led the Secretary of the Treasury to suggest that if a boom develops and there is a surplus, he will

recommend a tax cut. In other words in a time of rising inflationary pressure, the Administration would add to the pressure through tax cuts. This, I say, is upside-down economics.

The time to cut taxes is when we are not able to buy all that we can produce. Then we need the additional buying power that a tax reduction provides.

Before leaving the matter of budget balancing, I must note that the present Administration has been more concerned to make the budget look balanced than actually to balance it. To illustrate: in 1955, the Administration proposed a road program of \$100,000,000,000, to be financed by borrowing. Yet this program, if enacted, would not have increased the apparent budget deficit, because it was to be handled outside the budget through a corporation created for the purpose. The inflationary consequences of this proposal were real, but they were kept hidden.

Our budget policy must be aimed at avoiding the extremes of unemployment and inflation, and our monetary and debt policies must serve this same purpose. The Eisenhower Administration has placed a heavy reliance on monetary policy as a means of stabilizing the economy. I am all for using monetary policy, but as one weapon in an armory of economic weapons. Some flexibility in money rates is welcome. But I am concerned over the clumsy manner in which monetary policy has been used.

The high interest rate policy of the Republican Administration has played havoc with residential mortgage credit. It has created great difficulties for small business men and farmers and others dependent on bank credit. It has had no noticeable effect on large corporations, which finance their expansion largely by their own funds, and have access to credit even in a tight money market. Thus, by hurting the small operator, the scarce-money policy has contributed further to the dangerous and rapid concentration of industry. Also the benefits of high interest have not been spread fairly among the various groups of lenders.

Injustices are also evident in government debt policy. For example, the three-month Treasury bill now yields a return that is 70 percent above the 1952 rate; the three-five-year bond yields about 60 percent above that rate. The rich investors buy these securities. Even high-grade corporate and municipal bonds now yield 40 and 20 percent respectively more than in 1952. But the E Bonds, purchased by the small investor, yield no more than in 1952. This is discrimination in favor of the big against the small investor.

#### SOUND TAX BASE

But let us consider another aspect of debt policy. Sound government credit depends on a sound tax base, and this base is provided by a growing economy. The weight of our still large national debt, primarily the result of war, will shrink as the economy expands. By 1966 at present price levels, the interest costs of our present debt should be only about one-third of the 1945 cost relative to output. We should try to reduce the debt when we can, but debt reduction, as such, must not be made the major objective of fiscal policy. It must be undertaken when, but only when, it fits the requirement of a healthy and expanding economy.

I now turn to a closer look at the cost of the programs I have proposed.

In my policy statement on providing for the needs of older Americans I proposed as an objective that a citizen, after retiring from the active labor force, should be in a position to maintain his accustomed standard of living. At present there are 5,400,000 families in which the head of the family is over 65 years of age. The average income of these families is about \$2,300, only 55 percent of the national average of about \$4,200. Since the aged do not have some of the financial responsibilities a family has in its more active years, my goal could be achieved if the income of the family units of older persons is raised to about 75 percent of the national average.

The ultimate costs of raising the incomes of 5,400,000 families to three-fourths of the national average income -- that is, of providing an addition of about \$800 per family -- would amount to \$4,300,000,000. If measures are taken to make it easier for older workers to get a job, surely one-third of this desired increase in income can be obtained through improved job opportunities, leaving about \$3,000,000,000 to government finance. Of this \$3,000,000,000, \$2,400,000,000 should be obtained through Old Age and Survivors



Insurance, since approximately 80 percent of the aged are included in this program. The remaining \$600,000,000 should be obtained through Old Age Assistance, about two-fifths of which would be provided by the states.

Thus, total federal expenditure of some \$2,700,000,000 will be necessary. This amount may be financed in part from general revenue and in part from increased rates of payroll tax. This goal should be obtainable by 1965-66. As the program is developed gradually, the estimated increased cost for 1960 will be about \$900,000,000. Since the reserves in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Fund have reached \$22,000,000,000 and are growing at the rate of \$1,500,000,000 per year, there is something to be said for financing half this rise out of reserves. The remainder, for the time being, would come out of a payroll tax. But in order to be certain that we do not underestimate costs I assume that the total charge will be on current taxes.

I have recommended that a comprehensive private health insurance program be established. I have emphasized that this program should be voluntary and that it should be administered on a state basis. But federal support appears to be essential to an adequate program. Also, I have recommended increased appropriations for medical research and for hospitals.

The estimated federal contribution to a comprehensive private health insurance program is about \$1,000,000,000 by 1965. This amount is about 25 percent of the estimated total cost of the program at that time. Under one reasonable plan, the insured and their employers would contribute about one-third and one-quarter, respectively, and the balance would be financed by state governments. I want to make it absolutely clear that the private contributions are voluntary and are not in any sense a tax. A comprehensive private plan of this sort takes time to develop. The estimated federal cost by 1960 would reach about \$300,000,000.

#### HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION

My recommended program for hospital construction provides for additional federal outlays of \$100,000,000 by 1960, and \$300,000,000 by 1965, with contributions by state governments. The additional cost of the program for medical research is estimated at \$250,000,000 for 1960 and \$400,000,000 for 1965. In all this leaves us with an estimated additional federal cost of about \$650,000,000 for 1960 and of \$1,700,000,000 for 1965.

In my statement on education I have suggested federal aid for school construction as well as aid to increase teachers' salaries. By 1960 a minimum program for education would involve a cost of \$700,000,000, and by 1965, I suspect, at least \$2,000,000,000 will be needed to meet even the most basic requirements. Then the federal government would be paying 13 percent of the school bill of \$15,000,000,000 at present standards. At the same time, the total costs of public school education should rise substantially above \$15,000,000,000 by 1965 if we are to have a school system commensurate with our economic capacity and standard of living.

In addition I have recommended that we should provide scholarships for 100,000 able students each year who cannot otherwise afford college education, and 2,500 graduate fellowships. If it were possible to get these programs started promptly by 1960 the cost would be \$140,000,000, and by 1965, perhaps \$420,000,000.

I have dealt with the major programs above, but there are other requirements which must not be overlooked. These include:

A program for low-rent housing which allows for an increase of, say, 100,000 units per year over current programs, and outlays for financing experimental programs for farm housing and middle-income housing; a program for urban redevelopment, including slum clearance (our present program would require 200 years to deal with current slums); a program of vocational rehabilitation; a program for development and conservation of our natural resources. I assume a rise in such expenditures at least in proportion to that in national income. Some of these expenditures will be self-liquidating.

Assistance programs, other than those for older citizens, cost the federal government \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000. The least we can expect here is a rise of 50 percent by 1965-66. This rise would match an expected increase of at least 30 percent in per capita income and would raise average benefits to some extent above their current low level relative to per capita income. Surely assistance

of \$59 per month to the blind, and half that amount to a dependent child is not adequate.

I have not included in these totals any rise for outlays of state and local governments; nor any increase for security or foreign aid. Clearly state and local expenditures, especially those for schools, must and will rise. Fortunately, their revenues will also expand through economic growth. But additions to state and local taxes will also be necessary. Outlays for security and foreign aid are to be determined, I hope, by the requirements of security. If the crisis is great enough, we shall have to forego not only any expected improvement in our standard of living but even accept a cut.

I have declared that improvement in agricultural income is imperative, but with expenditures of an estimated \$5,700,000,000 for fiscal year 1957, more than \$4,000,000,000 per year in excess of average Democratic outlays in fiscal years 1951-53, I believe we can assure farmers a fair income without greater expense.

What then does all this add up to? When we put these figures for new programs all together, we get a total of \$3,200,000,000 by 1960, and \$9,700,000,000 by 1965-66, which is about 4-6 percent of the expected rise of the national product in both cases. These amounts are only about 25 to 30 percent of the increase in federal tax receipts we can expect from that rise in the national product. In other words, what we need to do, we can do.

One question remains: how will the tax burden be distributed? My answer is that citizens should contribute according to their ability to pay.

#### INCOME TAX IS ANCHOR

Since income is the best index of ability to pay, the personal income tax should be the sheet-anchor of the federal tax structure.

When the time for tax reduction comes, the first move should be towards relieving taxpayers in the lowest income groups. One way to do it is to increase exemptions. Another way to go at it is to lower tax rates at the bottom of the scale. At the present time there is a tax of 20 percent on the first \$2,000 of taxable income. We may split this lowest bracket into two and adopt a substantial reduction in the tax rate for the first \$1,000 of taxable income.

The income tax problem over the middle and higher income brackets is a different matter. We have built up in this area what appears on paper to be a highly progressive surtax rate. But over a period of years we have added special provisions to our tax laws under which an increasing proportion of the income of middle and upper bracket taxpayers is taxed at much lower rates, or even escapes tax entirely. This eroding or nibbling away of the income tax has been in process for a good many years. It continued with renewed vigor in the 1954 legislation sponsored by President Eisenhower and Secretary Humphrey.

At best, only one-quarter of the total relief in 1954 went to the two-thirds of families with incomes of \$5,000 or less. At least three-quarters of that relief went to taxpayers with higher incomes. Some estimates put the figure at over 90 percent.

I suggest a halt on further erosion of the income tax base. Tax readjustment should include the cutting down of very high surtax rates to more moderate levels, in exchange for the elimination of loopholes. There must be more effective collection, such as a broadening of the withholding provisions of the income tax so that they will apply to dividends and interest in the same way they do to salaries and wages. Also, we must find a more satisfactory way of dealing with capital gains and other special provisions. In this way, more moderate rates could be applied honestly to all incomes, not just to some.

The corporation income tax is our second largest revenue producer. When conditions permit, some reduction in the size of corporation tax will be in order, but even then it is destined to remain a major part of our tax structure. Also, when there is room for revenue reduction, we could improve the fairness of the tax by correlating it more closely with the personal income tax on dividends.

It would be possible also to improve the effect of the present tax on small business concerns. This can be done through readjustments of rates, or through new methods of accelerating depreciation aimed primarily at small business firms.

As in the case of the personal income tax, there remains the job of improving the tax base by eliminating special privileges.



## INDEPENDENT PARTY MOVEMENT IS ON 14 STATE BALLOTS

An independent party movement based on states rights and tax reform is facing a political showdown in 14 states on Nov. 6. The movement, backed by the Federation for Constitutional Government in the South, and For America in the North, claims there are millions of discontented voters within the ranks of the two major parties, whose "socialistic" platforms give the nation a choice between "Tweedle-dee and Tweedle-dum."

Shying away from a formal third-party role the two groups planned a new approach that would give conservative voters in each party a chance to rebel against the "internationalist" tendencies of both parties. Leaders of the movement also hoped to throw the election of President into the House of Representatives by electing enough "independent electors" to prevent major party candidates from getting a 266-vote majority in the electoral college.

With Presidential candidates and/or independent electors backing a states rights-tax reform platform on the ballot in 14 states the election should provide a good measure of the voting strength of the movement. In addition, supporting organizations in another 24 states are organizing write-in campaigns.

### North-South Alliance

For America and the Federation have worked together since early 1956. (Weekly Report, p. 465) In April Congressional Quarterly published a list of 11 individuals participating at top policy levels of the two organizations. One of the eleven, J. Evetts Haley of Canyon, Texas, acted as unofficial liaison man between the two groups.

- Federation for Constitutional Government -- Headed by John U. Barr, a southern industrialist and a leader in the 1948 Dixiecrat movement, the Federation combines the leadership of white Citizens' Councils in 11 southern states. Included on its advisory committee are South Carolina Democrat Strom Thurmond who resigned his Senate seat in April and currently is a candidate for the balance of the term he began in 1955, and ex-Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, States Rights candidates for President and Vice President in 1948. (Weekly Report, p. 229)

- For America -- Formed in 1954 as a patriotic group, it was reorganized in 1955 as a political action committee. Headed by Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame University law school, and Dan Smoot, writer and commentator, the group describes itself as being "strict constructionalist." For America has backed the Bricker Amendment to limit executive treaty making powers, limitations on federal taxing and spending powers and has been a strong advocate of states rights. (Weekly Report, p. 467.)

### States Rights Conference

Coordinating efforts between the two groups and about 12 splinter parties and organizations in 25 states culminated Sept. 15 in the National States Rights Conference of 317 delegates at Memphis, Tenn.

While the Conference declined to set up an official third party, it designated itself the National Conservative Movement and voted to endorse T. Coleman Andrews,

### Party Movement by States

The following 14 states have third parties or independent electors on the ballot in support of T. Coleman Andrews, former director of internal revenue, for President and ex-Rep. Thomas H. Werdel (R Calif.) for Vice President:

Alabama -- Independent Electors.  
Arkansas -- Constitution party.  
Iowa -- American Constitution party.  
Kentucky -- States Rights party.  
Louisiana -- States Rights party.  
Mississippi -- States Rights Electors.  
New Jersey -- Conservative party.  
New Mexico -- The New party.  
North Dakota -- For America party.  
South Carolina -- States Rights Electors.  
Tennessee -- Constitution party.  
Texas -- Constitution party.  
Virginia -- States Rights party.  
Wisconsin -- Constitution party.

former director of Internal Revenue, for President and ex-Rep. Thomas H. Werdel (R Calif., 1949-53) for Vice President.

The next formal move by the two groups was made Oct. 3 when Manion and Barr, as co-chairmen, announced the establishment of a national committee of supporters for the Andrews-Werdel ticket. The committee list included the names of Charles Edison, former New Jersey Democratic governor and Navy Secretary; Ruth McCormick Tankersly, former publisher of the defunct Washington (D.C.) Times-Herald; retired Air Force Gen. George E. Stratemeyer; former U.S. Ambassadors Spruille Braden and Hugh Grant; and Connecticut Industrialist Vivien Kellems. (Weekly Report, p. 1193)

On Oct. 7 Andrews and Werdel announced an eight-point platform that emphasized state and individual rights and pledged "enormous reductions in government spending and a drastic tax reform." Other platform planks pledged a "reversal of the dangerous trend toward socialism," strong opposition to the status-of-forces treaty under which U.S. military personnel stationed in NATO countries are tried for crimes by civil courts of the countries, support for the "original Bricker amendment" or an "effective alternative," and "utter (and) complete rejection of Atlantic Union and world government." (Weekly Report, p. 1217)

### Movement Plans

Under the Constitution, voters in each state choose electors who then meet to ballot for the President and Vice President. State laws since the latter part of the 19th century have provided that the candidates for President chosen by a plurality of electors' votes carry the total number of electoral votes assigned to the state. The number of electoral votes per state is equal to its total number of Senators and Representatives.

Early in 1956, third party movement planners were counting on a southern bolt from the Democratic party.

Brig Gen. Bonner Fellers (Ret.), For America national director, April 20 said, "If we can get 100 electoral votes out of the South, we won't need many more to throw the election into the House of Representatives."

The exact number needed would depend on how the states divided. To be elected by the electoral college, the candidates must receive over half (266) of the total (531) votes.

If no constitutional majority were achieved, the election would be thrown to the House of Representatives; the election of the Vice President under similar circumstances would go to the Senate.

But getting independent electors on the ballot in all states is a problem. Twenty-eight states do not list the electors in the general election. In the other 20 states, 18 place the party candidates on the ballot along with the names of the electors. Alabama and Colorado do not list the names of the candidates. In 41 states, laws permit write-in votes. (See chart, p. 2)

### Legal Provisions

While the late Republican and Democratic conventions added an unfavorable time factor for getting electors on the ballot, the fact that the Movement had not settled on a candidate proved a further disadvantage in complying with some state provisions.

In some states it was possible for electors to back "symbols" of the conservative movement. Thus in Massachusetts backers used the names of Gen. Douglas MacArthur for President and Gov. J. Bracken Lee (R Utah) for Vice President. In Illinois, electors submitted the names of Sen. William Jenner (R Ind.) for President and Sen. Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.) for Vice President and in Kentucky, electors backing Byrd for President and Jenner for Vice President successfully placed their names on the ballot.

However, in some states -- like Oklahoma and West Virginia -- a "declaration of candidacy" is necessary, making the use of "symbol" candidates impossible.

According to spokesmen for the Movement, candidates "just missed" being placed on the ballot in some states. They cite Massachusetts as an example. The state law there requires a petition be filed with the secretary of state by the 14th Tuesday before the general election. The petition must bear the names of 3 percent of the entire vote cast for governor at the preceding biennial state election. For America officers figure this would have meant about 58,000 signatures. In a two-week period previous to the deadline (July 31), workers obtained 40,000 signers.

### Current Outlook

Leaders of the Movement have not given up the idea of throwing the election of the President to the House of Representatives. Fellers, speaking in behalf of For America, Oct. 23 said, "Judging from the response to date and the anticipated results in the coming election, the continuation of the conservative movement in some form is certainly indicated. We hope that the results in the 14 states and from additional states where write-in votes are allowed will be sufficient to effect a sounding-board -- a protest which must be recognized. There is a possibility that Andrews and Werdel may actually carry Virginia and other southern states -- principally on the states' rights and tax reform issues."

### State Election Law Provisions

The following chart gives state legal provisions on ballot listings and write-in votes in the general election.

- Col. 1 -- Names of candidates for President and Vice President appear on the ballot.
- Col. 2 -- Names of electors of candidates for President and Vice President appear on the ballot.
- Col. 3 -- Write-in voting.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Alabama	No	Yes	Yes
Arizona	Yes	Yes	Yes
Arkansas	Yes	No	Yes
California	Yes	No	Yes
Colorado	No	Yes	Yes
Connecticut	Yes	No	Yes
Delaware	Yes	No	No**
Florida	Yes	No	Yes
Georgia	Yes	Yes	No
Idaho	Yes	Yes	Yes
Illinois	Yes	No	Yes
Indiana	Yes	No	Yes
Iowa	Yes	No	Yes
Kansas	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kentucky	Yes	No	Yes
Louisiana	Yes	Yes	Yes
Maine	Yes	No	Yes
Maryland	Yes	No	Yes
Massachusetts	Yes	No	Yes
Michigan	Yes	No	Yes
Minnesota	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mississippi	Yes	Yes	No***
Missouri	Yes	No	Yes
Montana	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nebraska	Yes	No	Yes
Nevada	Yes	No	No**
New Hampshire	Yes	No	Yes
New Jersey	Yes	No	Yes
New Mexico	Yes	No	Yes
New York	Yes	Yes*	Yes
North Carolina	Yes	No	Yes
North Dakota	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ohio	Yes	No	No***
Oklahoma	Yes	Yes	No
Oregon	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pennsylvania	Yes	No	Yes
Rhode Island	Yes	No	Yes
South Carolina	Yes	Yes	Yes
South Dakota	Yes	Yes	No
Tennessee	Yes	Yes	Yes
Texas	Yes	No	Yes
Utah	Yes	No	Yes
Vermont	Yes	Yes	Yes
Virginia	Yes	Yes*	Yes
Washington	Yes	No	Yes
West Virginia	Yes	No	Yes
Wisconsin	Yes	No	Yes
Wyoming	Yes	Yes	Yes

\* New York and Virginia omit the requirement of listing electors when voting machines are used.

\*\* Delaware and Nevada have provisions prohibiting write-in votes.

\*\*\* Write-in votes were ruled valid by a Mississippi court in the case of the death of a nominated candidate. Ohio permits write-ins where no candidate has been nominated.

SOURCE: SENATE RULES AND ADMINISTRATION, PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS SUBCOMMITTEE AND THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE.

● **STABLE DOLLAR** -- "When President Eisenhower spoke in Cleveland on Oct. 1 he made this significant statement: 'The cost of living has been remarkably stabilized - only about two and one-half percent increase in three and a half years.... Today we have a stable dollar...' ....When things are going well, when jobs are plentiful, when business, small and large is prospering, as it is now, it is easy to forget some of the troubles of past years.... I think you will agree that since Mr. Eisenhower became President, prices have remained fairly stable. If things cost more, it was because the product was better and you got more for your money.... We have been fortunate in having a Secretary of the Treasury who has been able to direct the financial policies of our government in such a way as to hold inflation to a minimum." -- Rep. Frances P. Bolton (R Ohio) Oct. 27 newsletter.

● **MIDDLE AGE** -- "After reaching middle age many people who want to work have a difficult time getting a new job. Under the present law all government contracts include provisions barring discrimination in hiring because of race, color or creed.... A local resident...raised the question of amending the anti-discrimination provision to include age. This inclusion could have considerable merit by requiring employers to have other reasons than age for refusing to hire an employee working on a government contract. In the next session of the Congress I intend to examine this fully." -- Rep. Gerald R. Ford Jr. (R Mich.) Oct. 25 newsletter.

● **DISASTER FEED PROGRAM** -- "The disaster feed program instituted by the Department of Agriculture ...was intended to provide a protective cushion against the devastation of the drought.... However, there has been much complaint about the manner in which this program has been administered. There have been charges that preference has been given to some while others have been discriminated against.... The hay and feed program was not intended to be used as a political football. If such practice has been engaged in, those responsible should be made to answer." -- Rep. Walter Rogers (D Texas) Oct. 26 newsletter.

● **SMALL BUSINESS** -- "Mr. Eisenhower, seeking to counteract growing recognition that his Republican Administration is dominated by big business...says he plans to ask Congress next year to give relief to small business.... Mr. Eisenhower now says he will ask Congress for legislation to enable closer scrutiny of business mergers by the Department of Justice. Where was Mr. Eisenhower when the Celler Pre-merger Notification bill, which passed the House, was bottled up for months and months by members of Mr. Eisenhower's 'team' in the Senate? I am referring specifically to Senators Butler of Maryland, Dirksen of Illinois, Welker of Idaho, Jenner of Indiana, and Bricker of Ohio. Instead of exercising leadership, Mr. Eisenhower let this bill go by default.... He used no initiative, no ingenuity or drive to get this bill passed. All we have is pious declarations but no action." -- Rep. Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.) Oct. 23 release.

● **SATELLITE REVOLT** -- "The spectacle of heroic Hungarians fighting Soviet tanks almost to a standstill in the streets of Budapest should awaken the admiration of the whole free world.... This is a great moment and one for the United States to flash its leadership. I fervently express the hope that the President of the United States will strive to galvanize the United Nations into immediate and forthright action.... If the United Nations does not now, at this juncture, fulfill its function, the President...should nevertheless assume the role of the leader of the western world and rally moral forces everywhere to help the gallant Hungarians.... At the very least, the United Nations should order Soviet troops out of Hungary and press for free elections in that unfortunate country." -- Sen. James O. Eastland (D Miss.) Oct. 29 release.

"Signs of unrest and discontent in the Russian satellites in Eastern Europe erupted last week into what may turn into a full-scale effort to throw off the Soviet yoke.... The events of the past week...have demonstrated the wisdom of President Eisenhower's recent decision to continue economic aid to Yugoslavia despite considerable criticism of this program in the United States." -- Sen. Frederick G. Payne (R Maine) Nov. 1 newsletter.



# The Week In Congress

**Middle East** Israel's strike into Egyptian territory, followed by British and French action against Egypt and their veto of a U.S. resolution in the Security Council, placed election-conscious America on the horns of a dilemma. President Eisenhower said the armed action of Israel, Britain and France was "in error," but this would "in no way minimize our friendship with these nations." Mr. Eisenhower also said there "will be no United States involvement" in the Middle East hostilities, and he had no plans to recall Congress. (Page 1299)

## Southern Bonus

A Democratic sweep in the Nov. 6 Congressional elections would make the South top dog in Congress while a Republican one would concentrate power in the Midwest. The seniority system would give the South nine out of 14 major committee chairmanships in the Senate and 11 out of 18 in the House if the Democrats retain their majority in both chambers. A Republican majority in both chambers would put midwesterners in charge of eight Senate committees and nine on the House side. (Page 1304)

## Next Year's Work

The 1957 Congress has its work cut out for it, no matter who is elected President. It will be asked to approve federal aid to schools, vote more money for medical research, rewrite the labor law and liberalize the immigration code, give tax relief to small business, continue foreign aid. It will not, unless the economy slumps, be called upon to cut taxes across the board. This preview of next year's State of the Union message was culled from President Eisenhower's and Adlai E. Stevenson's campaign promises. Both men, despite other differences, will want Congressional action on these matters. (Page 1311)

## Coattail Congress

Chances of President Eisenhower's getting the Republican Congress he wants rest squarely on his ability to achieve another landslide victory for himself. Adlai E. Stevenson faces no such problems. His party's strength at the state and local level is such that, if he wins, he almost is guaranteed a Democratic Congress. How are President Eisenhower's chances of accomplishing this? His 1952 sweep pulled two extra Republican Senators into office and gave the Republicans control. The President's 1952 win helped elect 22 more Representatives than the GOP had in 1950 -- five more than the GOP needs this year. (Page 1308)

## Presidential Checkup

Eight doctors examined President Eisenhower over the Oct. 27 weekend, agreed that he had made "an excellent recovery" from his ileitis and heart attacks and was "in excellent health." The doctors said the President's heart was found to be "not enlarged either on physical examination or by X-ray studies." (Page 1300)

## How Many Voters?

An estimated 61,417,750 persons will vote on Nov. 6. If the estimate holds up, this would be only 134,168 less voters than the record number of 61,551,918 in 1952, the year of the first Eisenhower-Stevenson Presidential contest. That turnout exceeded the previous high in 1940 by more than 11 million. The estimated number of registered voters this year is 80,158,364, an increase of 4,578,579 over 1952. (Page 1325)

## Independent Movement

An independent party movement hopes to show enough strength this year to provide it with a foundation for 1958 and 1960. The Independent States Rights Movement -- a third force that declines to call itself a third political party -- is on the ballot in 14 states, nine of them in the South. Although its catalyst was the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and general discontent with United States "internationalist" policies, its coagulant was former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews' vigorous denunciation of the income tax. He once collected taxes for the Eisenhower Administration. The Independent Movement primarily is a combination of two organizations -- the Federation for Constitutional Government and For America. The Federation is a grouping of southern white Citizens Councils; For America is a nationalist group. (Page 1325)